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ABSTRACT

The attitudes of young Chinese people toward family formation are examined giving insights to the varying attitudes of young men and women according to rural or urban setting, educational levels, types of employment, economic status, and proximity to centers of economic and social development. Information is also provided on population policies and programs of the People's Republic of China and the perception thereof by young men and women--especially the latter--living in differing social and cultural conditions. Youths from industrial, agricultural, educational, public health, art and financial services--between the ages of 15 and 30--living in rural and urban areas of Beijing and Sichuan were chosen as the research target. Of 4,523 questionnaires distributed in 1979, 60.51% (3,921) were valid (53% from males and 47% from females). Findings showed urban areas differed from rural areas, with the ideal number of children between 1 and 1.5 in urban areas, and 1.5 and 2 in rural areas; different professions had different ideas about the ideal number; young urban women showed a tendency to prefer fewer children than men, but the reverse was true in rural areas; the higher the educational and economic standard, the lower the ideal number of children. (JMM)

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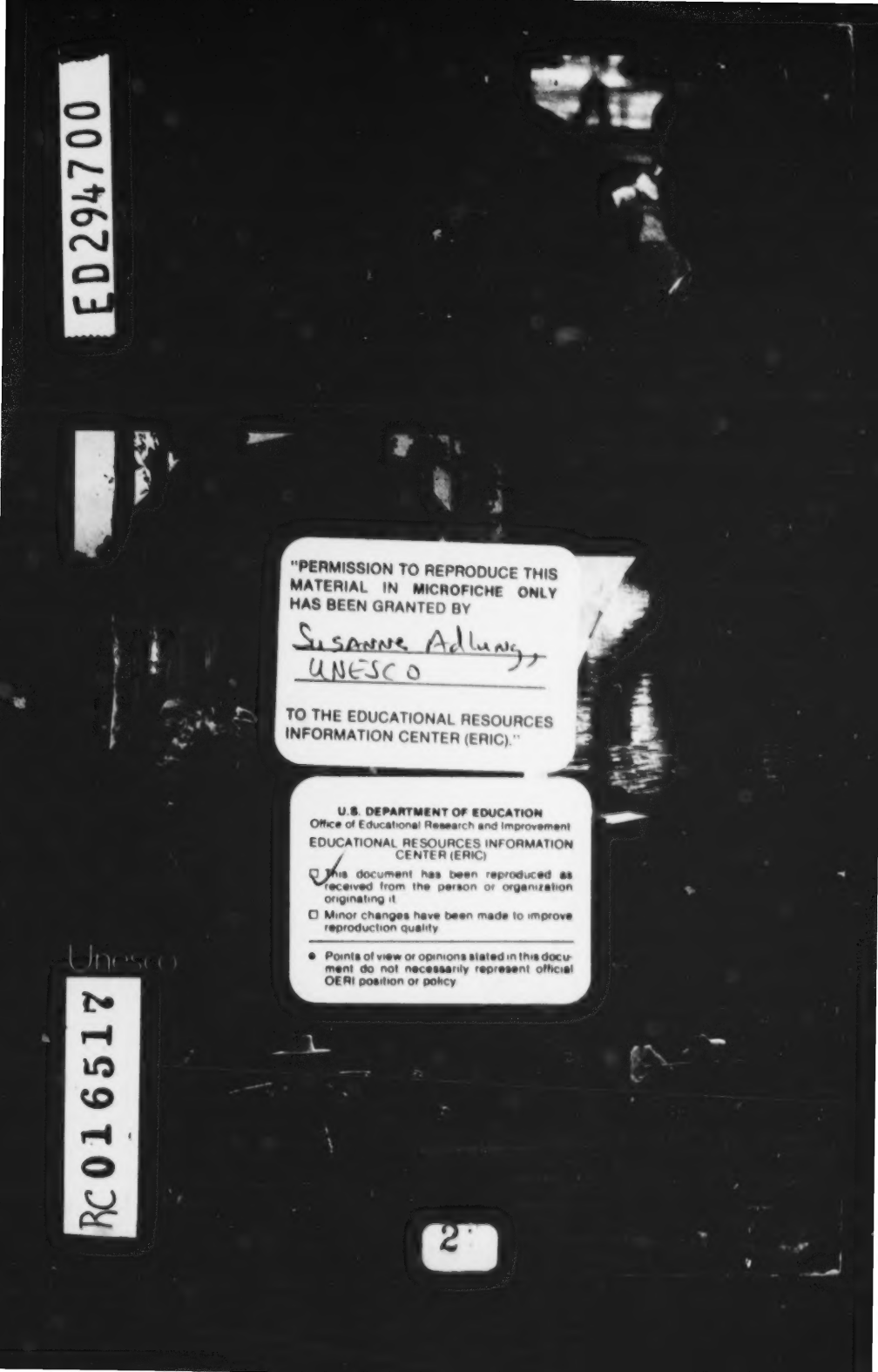

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Attitudes of young people in China to family formation

A study in urban and rural areas in Beijing and Sichuan, sponsored by Unesco and undertaken by the China Sociology Institute, Academy of Sciences of China, in collaboration with the Institute of Juvenile Studies

Unesco

The authors are responsible for the choice and the presentation of the facts contained in this book and for the opinions expressed therein, which are not necessarily those of Unesco and do not commit the Organization.

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Preface

This study was commissioned by Unesco and conducted by the China Sociology Institute in collaboration with the Institute of Juvenile Studies. It brings out for the first time the attitudes of young Chinese people to family formation and gives some remarkable insights into the varying attitude changes of young men and women according to rural or urban setting, educational levels, types of employment, economic status and proximity to centres of economic and social development. It also provides insights into the population policies and programmes of the People's Republic of China and the perception thereof by young men and women—and especially the latter—living in differing social and cultural conditions.

This investigation moreover provides a panorama of changing traditional values and customs surrounding marriage, the number of children desired irrespective of the sex of the child, family formation in husband's household or wife's home, and highlights the concern of young people with overall socio-economic and cultural development within the context in which their own actions are planned.

Being the first of its kind, this study from the People's Republic of China is testimony of the thoroughness of the Chinese researchers in developing their own methodology and their desire to examine

the question of family formation from all possible angles.

Professor Fei Xiao Tong gave overall guidance for the work and the compilation of materials. The studies were made under the supervision of Yang Wen. Other co-ordinators were Zhang Pan Shi, Zhang Xian Qiao, Xue Yin, Wang Rong Fen and Shen Chong Lin. The report was written by Professor Zhang Zhi Yi.

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Introduction

The problem of population growth is at present a challenge to many countries in the world. China, a large country with an enormous population, has also realized the seriousness of this problem. In the old society, China was patterned as a country of 'high birth rate, high mortality', but as more and more of the arable wasteland was cultivated, the problem of overcrowding and insufficient land became acute, and a new pattern of 'high birth rate, low mortality' emerged after Liberation in 1949. This was due, on the one hand, to a rather slow realization of the necessity of contraception, and on the other to letting a 'high birth rate, high mortality' pattern develop without restriction. Another result of the decline of 'high mortality' was war, plague and famine. Thus, in a brief period of thirty years, Chinese population nearly doubled.

Such growth was unprecedented in Chinese history, nor was it common in other countries of the world. An even faster growth would have been inevitable had the policy of family planning not been introduced in the latter half of the post-Liberation period.

China's agricultural products have doubled in comparison with those of three decades ago, although agro-technology is still quite backward and farming conditions unadvanced. Efforts have been made, how-

ever, to increase production per unit of the productive land. Praiseworthy as such successes may be, the gains in agriculture have been offset by the increase in population, and the use of such improvements to increase agro-accumulation, to promote agro-technology, and to enhance a faster development of the national economy. It was impossible to raise the living standards of the people because the birth-control programme was not carried out in time. Obviously, without a birth-control programme, the aim of utilizing socialist production to promote the people's living standard could never be fulfilled. China, therefore, decided on the long and difficult task of introducing family planning to slow down or halt the growth in the birth rate.

To achieve these ends, special emphasis had immediately to be made on family-planning programmes. Since the founding of the People's Republic, it has been obvious that old people live longer, which adds to the population growth. However, the high birth rate and low infant mortality rate are still the main reasons for population growth since 1949.

For twelve years out of the twenty between 1949 and 1968, the birth rate was consistently higher than in previous years. In 1954, the rate was as high as 38 per cent, and in 1963 it was 43.6 per cent. By 1957, the mortality rate had dropped to 10.8 per cent, with some set-backs in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It was 10.1 per cent in 1963, and by the mid-1960s had dropped to 8–10 per cent, much lower than that of the pre-Liberation era. The pattern of 'high birth rate, low mortality' held for nearly twenty years, and only after 1968 did it begin to change to a 'low birth rate, low mortality' pattern.

The juvenile structure of China's population has thus been shaped. At present, 65 per cent of the

population are under the age of 30. Such a structure formed according to the post-Liberation pattern of 'high birth rate, low mortality' has laid a foundation for the development of the country's future population. Therefore, the way in which the population policy is adhered to by young people between the ages of 15 and 30 will play a predominant role in slowing down or checking the population growth, which is why so much emphasis is put on young people's opinions in the present study.

Since the introduction of family-planning policy, effective results have materialized. But versatility in putting the policy into effect varies in different areas. It is necessary to bring the goals of the policy and young people's ideal regarding family size closer together. Any discord between the two may deter the policy being put into practice, not to say the possibility of creating resentment against family planning. Only if one understands young people and what they think will it be possible to convince them that too many births are harmful to both the family and society, and persuade them to accept the idea of contraception. Only then, can one envisage the possibility of carrying out the population policy successfully.

Scope and limitation of the study

This study was started in November 1979. A series of meetings were held with the assistance of the Committee of the Communist Youth League of the Eastern City of Beijing, the Youth League cadres, young bachelors and unmarried and married girls. Altogether nearly fifty persons were interviewed. All those who took part in the meetings were young people working in that area such as high-school teachers, doctors,

salesmen, shop assistants, etc. Discussions were also held with more than ten students representing a special team studying population from Beijing College of Economics. Two weeks' interviewing revealed that though young people accept the idea of birth-control, their perception of family size varies according to cultural level, economic position, tradition, family background, profession, sex and age.

A questionnaire was designed based upon this preliminary general investigation. The following suggestions were put at the top of the form, to facilitate its reliability:

The blanks should be filled in honestly and accurately.

If preferred, real name can be omitted. For those who have given their real names, the content of the form will not be published.

Youths between the ages of 15 and 30, living in urban and rural areas of Beijing and Sichuan, were chosen as our research target. Because of limited personnel, a greater part of time and energy was devoted to the investigation in Beijing. Investigation in Jiangjin County of Sichuan Province, which only took just over two weeks in April 1980, was chiefly entrusted to the Sichuan Province Youth League and relevant departments who distributed and collected the questionnaire. Before doing so they were thoroughly briefed on the objectives of the study.

To begin with, a sampling frame was constructed with a list of names and figures. The committee of the Youth League gave the total number of young people between the ages of 15 and 25 and that of youths working in various posts up till December 1979. Different samples were designed accordingly.

The following points are worth noting:

TABLE 1. Sample numbers of young people selected from urban and rural areas in Beijing, given as a percentage of the total number

	Number	Percentage	Sample size	Percentage of sample	Percentage of total number
Industry	464 700	21.3	3 650	46.9	7.8
Agriculture	633 300	29.0	1 350	17.4	2.1
Education	289 292	13.2	1 800	23.3	6.2
Public health	4 257	0.2	300	3.8	7.04
Art	1 431	0.07	80	1.0	5.59
Financial services	39 171	1.8	350	4.5	8.9
Others	751 588	34.4	250	3.2	0.3
TOTAL	2 183 739	100	7 780	100	3.5

As the chief participants of this study were young people working in industrial, agricultural, educational, public health, art and financial services, young people working in other fields were less represented. Thus samples for 'Others' are smaller in size.

Since work in Sichuan was the major area of the study, the samples for rural Beijing are comparatively smaller. Facts proved that this decision was wrong.

As the total number of youths working in public health and art were too small, the sample size was deliberately increased.

As only the total number of young people between the ages of 15 and 25 was known, samples were adjusted accordingly.

When the sample sizes of various professions had been fixed, sixteen basic units were decided upon, according to the nature and significance of these professions. Eventually the number of the individuals involved was decided upon (Table 2).

TABLE 2. Number of questionnaires distributed and collected in the sixteen Beijing urban and rural area units

Area units	Questionnaires distributed	Questionnaires collected
Capital Iron and Steel Co. (heavy industry)	1 700	327
No. 2 Beijing Cotton Mill (light industry)	1 300	703
Beijing Chaoyang Construction Co. (district owned)	500	485
Beijing Machine Bureau electricity power and container factory (collective ownership)	150	65
Red Star People's Commune Daxing County (near suburb)	800	241
Ming Tomb People's Commune Changping County (outer suburb)	550	392
Qinghua University Department of Science and Technology	950	850
Beijing College of Economics Department of Art	450	397
Beijing No. 4 High School (key school)	250	226
Beijing No. 104 High School (non-key school)	150	139
Beijing Acrobatic Troupe	80	26
Tongren Hospital	300	243
Beijing Hotel	200	116
Dustmen Team Beijing East City	150	94
Longtan Neighbourhood Association Chongwen District, Beijing	150	132
Central Youth League School	100	92
TOTAL	7 780	4 528

Distribution of the questionnaire forms was started in mid-December 1979. Together with the Committee of the Beijing Youth League, meetings of the Youth League Leading cadres of the sixteen basic

units and their immediate leading cadres were sponsored to explain the steps and ways of distributing and collecting the questionnaires. They were required to distribute and collect them at appointed dates. The proportion of young people between the ages of 15 and 30 against the total number and the location of their working units was decided upon. Small groups were to be selected and thereafter samples could be distributed accordingly.

The questionnaires were being returned from January 1980 onwards. For special reasons, the Youth League Committee of Capital Iron and Steel Co. only distributed 400 questionnaires to their workers and returned the other 1,300 unfilled. Thus the actual numbers were as follows: altogether 6,400 questionnaires were distributed, out of which 4,523 were returned, i.e. 69.88 per cent of those distributed. As 607 forms were null and void because of mistakes, only 3,921 forms were valid, that is 60.51 per cent of the total number. Most of the young people filled in the forms honestly. Many of them even attached slips of paper expressing their willingness to provide further information, and some wished to know the results of the study. The following two criteria for further appraisal were laid down:

Sex. According to valid samples, the total number of which was 3,921, the percentage of young men was 53 per cent and young women 47 per cent. According to the 1978 population statistics, the proportion between male and female was 51.28 per cent and 48.72 per cent. According to different statistics from 1975 in some provinces, cities and counties, the ratio of the young people of the ages between 15 and 24 was 51 per cent male and 48 per cent female.

Average age. The average age of the 2,537 young people

between the ages of 15 and 24 was 20.6, while, according to the 1975 statistics from several areas, the average age of young people in the same age group was 19.53. The differences was thus not large.

When we first drew up the statistics, they were compiled individually. Later on, it was necessary to adopt a second method as well. Combining the two methods, it was much easier to analyse the cause and effect on the opinion of young people about family formation. The second method allowed for the study of effects arising from different causes.

The following assumptions were made according to the material available:

Young people from varying financial positions have different opinions about family formation, because they have their own standards of material requirements. So people more often than not naturally adjust their desires for family planning.

Young people of varying levels of education also have different opinions about family formation. Different levels of education reveal distinct spiritual needs. To satisfy certain spiritual desires, people often make differing decisions and have various opinions about family size.

Young people make different decisions about family size, because of the effect of various traditional influences. The old Chinese traditional ideal family was one with many sons. The depth of the influence of this ideal shows in the differences of opinion about numbers of children.

These three assumptions were made for the research on the influences of the young people's opinion about family size from different angles. The three assumptions were independent variables and the opinions were dependent variables. In the second

method we used figures to describe the influence of various social functions on the opinions of the young about family size. Being the dependent variables, the number of children desired was the young person's opinion about childbirth.

How does one define the economic position of young people living in the cities? It is true that their jobs chiefly determine their income and social position, but family background must also be taken into consideration. Thus a young person's social and economic position is measured by his profession, income and family background.

The standards and indices of young people's income were drawn up according to their salary levels. The ranks of their professions were defined according to the long-accepted standards, namely: first class—state cadres (including university and college students); medium-high—state-owned enterprise clerks; medium-low—collective ownership enterprise clerks; low—unemployed youth.

Obviously, the jobless were of the lowest social stratum. Since the collective ownership enterprises have to look after their own financial affairs, the incomes of the clerks differ from one enterprise to another. Up till now, employees could not be guaranteed a fixed income like that of state-owned enterprises where clerks receive a steady salary according to the theory of equal work and equal pay. In collective ownership enterprises, a large part of the assets must be increased by accumulation of earnings. Large amounts of money must be laid aside and only a small percentage can be spent on staff welfare. In this respect, state-owned enterprises offer much better living conditions for their personnel. Moreover, collective ownership enterprises, which have to shoulder heavy financial burdens, have difficulties in selling their

goods, and sometimes their very existence is at stake. Their staff inevitably suffer from economic depression, while those who work in state-owned units never do. Naturally, many workers of the collective ownership units envy their counterparts in the state-owned units, and wish they could join their ranks too. The superiority of the state-owned enterprises is reflected not only in the staff's material gains but also in their social status. Generally speaking, the social and political position of national cadres is higher than that of workers.

The social and financial position of country folk is judged according to their real financial conditions. The two important scales for measuring the financial conditions are the annual cash income per capita and the annual food dividend per capita. Ironically enough, these were not included in the first design of the questionnaire. To remedy this, a second investigation was conducted among those people whose forms were filled in correctly. The lists of names and requirements were mailed to the respective units once more asking the assistance of local Youth League Units to distribute and collect the questionnaires. Thus, with this new material, the loss from the invalid questionnaires was more or less made up.

The financial position of young people in the country was calculated according to the annual income and food dividend per capita (Table 3).

Three steps were taken to sum up the different standards in points, in order to measure the financial conditions of young people living in cities and those in the countryside.

1. Points were given according to ranks.
2. Average points and measurement: as the points are not the same, averages are different too.
3. The standards for the average points and measurement were fixed.

TABLE 3. Average annual income and food dividend per capita in Beijing and Sichuan rural areas

Unit	Annual food dividend per capita (jin)	Annual income per capita (yuan)
Beijing:		
Red Star People's Commune	433	334
Ming Tomb People's Commune	569	189
Sichuan:		
Hexing People's Commune (Han nationality)	579	153
Ganxi People's Commune (Han nationality)	465	147
Zhuhe People's Commune (Yi nationality)	953	38
Benzhen People's Commune (Tibetan nationality)	664	192

The standards were fixed according to the probabilities in different average points:

Social and financial positions of Beijing youth.

Personal professional position: jobless = 0; collective ownership unit clerk = 1; state-owned unit clerk = 2; national cadres = 3.

Parents' professional position: jobless = 0; collective ownership unit clerk = 1; state-owned unit clerk = 2; national cadres = 3.

Personal monthly income: no income = 0; 35 yuan = 1; 35–45 yuan = 2; 45 yuan = 3.

Social/economic positions:	low					medium			high	
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Average measurement:	0–4					5–7			8–9	

The measurement of the financial conditions of the young married couples (with children) in Beijing.

Combined monthly income (yuan): 50 = 0; 50–69 = 1; 70–89 = 2; 90 = 3.
Monthly support paid to parents (yuan): 30 = 0; 25–15 = 1; 10–5 = 2; 0 = 3.
Monthly children's expenses (yuan): 45 = 0; 40–35 = 1; 30–20 = 2; 15 = 3.
Monthly support from parents (yuan): 0 = 0; 5–10 = 1; 11–19 = 2; 20 = 3.

Financial conditions:	low			medium			high					
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Average measurement	0–3				4–7					8–12			

The measurement of the financial conditions of the young married couples (childless) in Beijing.

Combined monthly incomes (yuan): 50 = 0; 50–69 = 1; 70–89 = 2; 90 = 3.
Monthly support to parents (yuan): 30 = 0; 25–15 = 1; 10–52 = 2; 0 = 3.
Monthly support from parents (yuan): 0 = 0; 5–10 = 1; 11–19 = 2; 20 = 3.

Financial conditions:	low			medium			high		
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Average measurement:	0–2			3–6			7–9			

Measurement points for the financial conditions of young people living in Sichuan urban areas.

Personal professional position: jobless = 0; working in collective ownership units = 1; working in state-owned units = 2; officials = 3.
Parents' professional position: jobless = 0; working in

collective ownership units = 1; working in state-owned units = 2; officials = 3.

Personal income (yuan): no income = 0; 20 = 1; 20–29 = 2; 30 = 3.

Social/financial positions:	low	medium	high
	0 1 2 3 4	5–7	8–9
Average measurement:	0–4	5–7	8–9

Young people in Red Star People's Commune, Daxing County, and Ming Tomb People's Commune, Changping County, Beijing were employed in many of the commune-owned and brigade-owned establishments. Fixed income had been ensured, but food dividends remained to be distributed by the production team. As neither the financial conditions of these families nor their food dividend were studied, the financial positions of these people were measured by their personal monthly incomes.

Personal monthly income (yuan): 20 = 0; 20–29 = 1; 30–39 = 2; 40 = 3.

Financial conditions:	low	medium	high
	0–1	2	3
Average measurement:	0–1	2	3

Measurement points on the financial conditions of the young commune members of Red Star People's Commune and Ming Tomb People's Commune, in Beijing rural areas, are shown in Table 4.

The measurement of the financial position of the young commune members in Sichuan rural areas is shown in Table 5.

Years of schooling were taken to measure young people's educational levels: illiteracy, primary school, junior high school, senior high school and university.

Measurements for traditional ideas:

Women should have many children, the more the better: agree = 1; indifferent = 0.

TABLE 4. Measurement of the financial position of young people in Beijing rural areas

	Average yearly food supply (jin) (per capita)				Yearly income (yuan) (per capita)			
	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
Red Star People's Commune	<350	350–399	400–449	≥450	<250	250–299	300–349	≥350
Ming Tomb People's Commune	<400	400–499	500–599	≥600	<100	100–149	150–199	≥200
Financial positions	low		medium		high			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Average measurement	0–2			3–4		5–6		

TABLE 5. Measurement of the financial position of young people in Sichuan rural areas

	Average yearly food supply (jin) (per capita)				Yearly income (yuan) (per capita)			
	0	1	2	3	0	1	2	3
Third Brigade Hexing People's Commune, Shifang County	≤399	400–499	500–599	≥600	≤99	100–129	130–159	≥160
Yoncheng Brigade Ganxi People's Commune, Beichuan County	≤299	300–399	400–499	≥500	≤99	100–129	130–159	≥160
Big Hotspring Brigade Zhuhe People's Commune, Shaojue County	≤799	800–899	900–999	≥1000	≤14	15–29	30–39	≥40
Adi Brigade Benzhen People's Commune, Maerkang County	≤499	500–599	600–699	≥700	≤99	100–149	150–199	≥200
Financial positions	low		medium		high			
	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	
Average measurement	0–2			3–4		5–6		

Having children is the highest blessing one can ask for: agree = 1; indifferent = 0.

A big family is a sign of family prosperity: agree = 1; indifferent = 0.

(*Note:* Due to carelessness in designing the questionnaire, only the above three kinds of multiple choices were available.)

The following steps were taken to carry out the statistical analysis of the material:

1,380 samples out of 3,921 questionnaires were analysed: 1,071 from Beijing urban areas, 309 from Beijing rural areas, 122 from Sichuan urban areas and 250 from Sichuan rural areas, excluding the 298 samples from the three people's communes in Jiangjin County.

Tables were drawn up to simplify the relationship between the two variables.

Percentage tables were made in order to compare the relationship between the two variables.

The two variables were analysed in detail.

Typical value analysis was adopted to study the relationship from another angle.

Chapter 1

Beijing urban areas

Table 6, made after our investigation, shows how young people living in Beijing urban areas form their ideas of ideal families.

Figure 1 is based upon the data in Table 6. The following conclusions can be drawn from Figure 1:

Young men and young women are strikingly similar in their choices of ideal families. The most popular form of ideal family is one with only one child,

TABLE 6. Young people's opinion of ideal family size in Bejing

Family type	Class	Male		Female	
		Percentage	Position	Percentage	Position
Childless	1	5.86	4th	8.76	4th
One child (either sex)	2	43.47	1st	51.82	1st
One boy	3	8.18	3rd	8.55	3rd
One girl	4	3.13	7th	3.21	6th
One boy and one girl	5	26.54	2nd	19.12	2nd
Two old parents and one child	6	1.12	9th	1.71	7th
One old parent and two children	7	4.17	6th	1.60	8th
Two old parents and two children	8	5.61	5th	4.27	5th
Many children	9	0.40	10th	0.32	10th
Big family	10	1.52	8th	0.64	5th

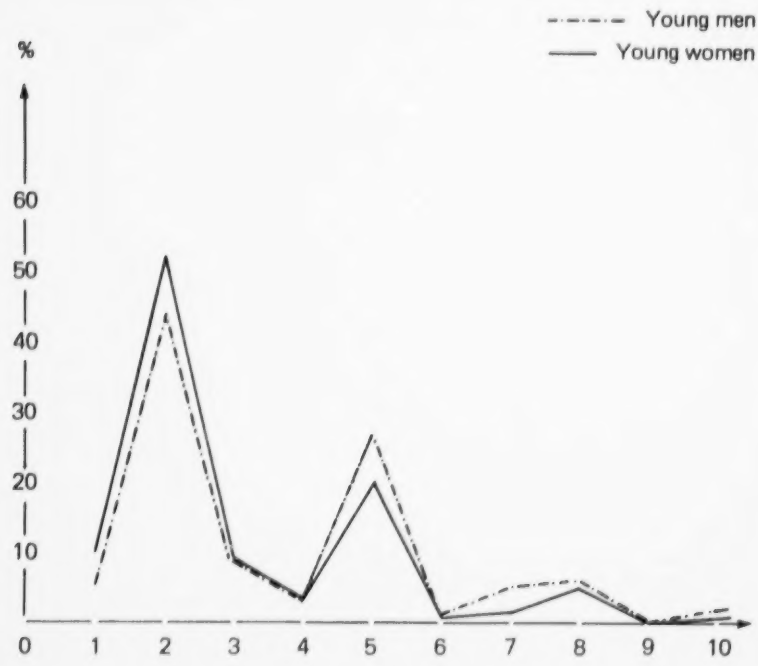

FIG. 1. Percentages of kinds of ideal families of young people in Beijing urban areas. Forms of ideal families arranged according to order: 1—family of a couple, no child; 2—family of a couple with one child of either sex; 3—family of a couple with one son; 4—family of a couple with one daughter; 5—family of a couple with one son and one daughter; 6—family of grandparents, parents and one child; 7—family of a grandparent, parents and two children; 8—family of grandparents, parents and two children; 9—family of a couple with many children; 10—big family.

be it a boy or a girl. Other ideas are similar. As all the young people have equal chances for education, and were thus exposed to the same influence, their concept of ideal families is alike.

The traditional ideal of having an heir is not very popular. The family type of one child, regardless of sex, takes the lead, followed by the type with a son and a daughter. The percentage of young men preferring this type of family is 70 per cent and that of young women is 70.94 per cent. Had the types that take the sixth, seventh and eighth places (regardless of sex), and that of the fourth (daughters only preferred) been included, the percentage would be still higher: 84.04 per cent for young men and 81.73 per cent for young women. This means that the majority of young people no longer hold to the traditional ideal of having an heir.

TABLE 7. Ideal family size for young people working in three different professions in Beijing urban area

Types of family	Class	Industry		Service		Education	
		Percentage	Position	Percentage	Position	Percentage	Position
No child	1	5.41	5th	7.48	3rd	7.96	3rd
One child	2	43.59	1st	39.46	1st	50.08	1st
One son	3	10.40	3rd	5.44	6th	7.15	4th
One daughter	4	1.57	8th	1.36	8th	4.02	6th
One son and one daughter	5	27.06	2nd	29.25	2nd	20.74	2nd
One child and one grandparent	6	0	—	6.08	4th	1.61	8th
Two children and one grandparent	7	4.13	6th	4.08	7th	2.33	7th
Two children and two grandparents	8	5.56	4th	6.12	5th	4.74	5th
Many children	9	0.42	9th	0	—	0.40	10th
Big family	10	1.85	7th	0	—	0.96	8th

If families with two or less children are regarded as a new type of small families, then 98 per cent of young men and 99 per cent of young women want them. As for those 1.92 per cent young men and 0.96 per cent young women who are in favour of big families, they represent an insignificant percentage. The traditional ideal of big families has disappeared.

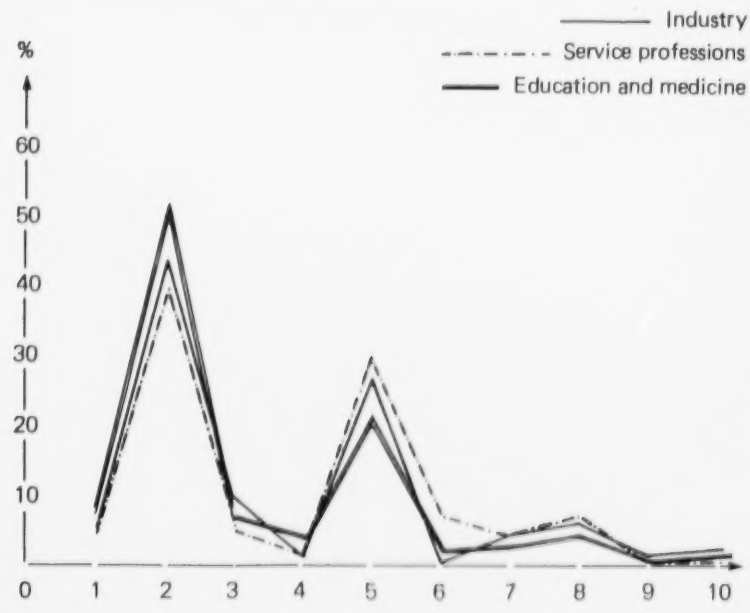

FIG. 2. Percentages of kinds of ideal families of young people in three professions in Beijing urban area.

A larger number of young people want only one child or even no children at all. Putting these first, second, third, fourth and sixth groups together, the percentages of male and female are 61.76 per cent and 74.05 per cent respectively. It can be said that most of the desired families correspond to the family planning norms suggested by the government.

Most of the young people (87.18 per cent male, 91.46 per cent female) wish to live separately from the older generation. The desire to live independently shows that submitting to the old no longer has a hold on the mind of the younger generation. It has been stipulated in the New Marriage Law that the young should support their parents when they are old. It seems that getting young people to implement this without persuasion and education would be quite difficult.

A study was also carried out into whether profession has any bearing on the concept of ideal families of young people in Beijing. The results are shown in Table 7. The main trends shown in Figure 2 are as follows:

In the choice of ideal family size young people in these three professions have strikingly similar ideas. The family of type 2 has been unanimously chosen as ideal by most of the young people of all the three professions. The second popular type of ideal family size is type 5, that is, a family with a son and a daughter. In the first case, the result is the same, that is, type 2 is the most popular one, and type 5 is the second. This means, regardless of sex or profession, young people prefer, first of all, a family with only one child, secondly, a family with a son and a daughter. They favour the idea of having fewer children without much considera-

tion of the traditional norm of having an heir. The trend is quite strong, the percentage being around 40 to 50. 20 to 30 per cent of the young people want to have a son and a daughter. This means that sons and daughters are equally valued. This trend is also quite strong, with both types predominating. The other eight types represent less than 10 per cent, a number small enough to be of little significance.

Among the young people who prefer to have a family of three, the percentages according to professions are as follows: 70.82 per cent in education and medicine, 70.65 per cent in industry and 68.71 per cent in service professions. The percentages would be considerably higher if those who prefer type 6, 7 and 8 are included.

Only a very few prefer families of type 9 and 10, i.e. families with many children or big families. The percentages are as follows: young people in industry, 2.27 per cent; young people in education and medicine, 1.36 per cent; and 0 for the young people in service professions.

A larger number of young people choose small families of only one child. The percentages are overwhelming: young people in industry, 97.73 per cent; young people in service jobs, 100 per cent; young people in education and medicine, 98.64 per cent.

There are some young people who do not want to have any children. The percentages are: young people in industry, 5.41 per cent; young people in service professions, 7.48 per cent; young people in education and medicine, 7.96 per cent. The percentages are not big, but neither are they insignificant.

Most of the young people do not wish to live with

their parents. The percentages are: young people in industry, 87.93 per cent; young people in service professions, 82.99 per cent; young people in education and medicine, 89.95 per cent. To respect and to support the old has generally become a matter of indifference among the young people. This is a significant finding.

The conclusions to be drawn from the above are that regardless of sex or profession an overwhelming number of the young people prefer to have small, independent, not traditional, big, families. As far as the sex of children is concerned, most of the young people do not show any preference for either sex. Most of them prefer to have only one child, and to live separately from their parents. All in all, the traditional norm of a big family is disappearing among young people today. The authors did not in fact expect to find them so thoroughly divorced from the old traditional concepts. Through young people—the successors of history—we can see that small families will inevitably become the family type of the future. With this development a series of questions requiring further study arises.

There are great similarities among young people of different professions and sexes regarding their ideal family types. Though this is the main point, their differences also need to be analysed. Though both sexes prefer type 2 and type 5, comparatively speaking, the percentage of young women preferring type 2 family is higher than that of young men—51.82 per cent to 43.47 per cent; in type 5 the percentages are 19 per cent for young women and 27 per cent for young men. More young women prefer to have families with only one child, while more young men would like to have a son and a daughter. Young women do not wish to have too many children. This is only natural, because

from pregnancy to childbirth and child care, many burdensome chores fall on the mother's shoulders. To lighten the burden, they are of course more anxious to have fewer children.

Differences are also observed among young people of different professions in their choices of type 2 and type 5. Preferring type 2, the percentages are: for young people in education and the medical profession, 50.08 per cent; for young people in industry, 43.59 per cent; for young people in service jobs, 39.46 per cent. In their preference for family type 5, the order is: young people in the service professions, 29.25 per cent; young people in industry, 27.06 per cent; young people in education and medicine, 20.7 per cent. Comparatively speaking, the young people in education and medicine tend to prefer type 2 to type 5. As young people working in education and public health departments are better educated, need more time to study and pay more attention to their children's education, most of them prefer to have fewer children.

What are the reasons for which young people prefer certain types of family? Table 8 illustrates the reasons given by young people from fourteen enterprises in Beijing.

It clearly shows that more young women than

TABLE 8. Percentages of reasons for having fewer children given by urban young children in Beijing

	Work and study	Material life	Spiritual life
Sex:			
Male	56.04	59.02	46.00 (approx.)
Female	62.00	50.35	45.00 (approx.)
Profession:			
Education	70.18	56.13	50.00
Industry	47.10	52.37	38.95
Service	5.33	57.33	44.00

young men do not want to have too many children, for fear it may encroach on their time for study. The percentages are 62 per cent and 56.04 per cent. This is because young women are overburdened by child care, which seriously affects their work and study, and their spiritual life. The desire to have fewer children prevails among young men, but they are more concerned with material life than young women. The percentages are 59.02 per cent and 50.35 per cent. This is because young men have a heavier financial burden than young women. Nearly half of the young men and women do not want to have too many children because they want to enrich their spiritual life.

For fear that child care may affect their work and study they either do not desire any children at all or do not wish for more than one child. There is a greater percentage of young people working in education and medicine in this category. The next group is of those who work in public services. The last group is that of young people in industry. The respective percentages are: 70.18 per cent, 65.33 per cent and 47.14 per cent. These differences are rather striking. This is because young people working in education and medicine cannot afford to spend too much time on child care. It is also because a great number of young people in public service departments are from Beijing Hotel—a hotel specially built for foreign visitors. Higher requirements are set for them for service abilities and foreign language levels, which is why more young people of this group than those working in industry think too many children would hinder their work and study. Fearing that too many children may affect their material life, more of those who want no children or only one child can be found among young people working in public service departments than among those who work in education and medicine depart-

ments; and still less in the industry group. The respective percentages are 57.33 per cent, 56.16 per cent and 52.37 per cent. The three percentages are quite close. Desiring a better and richer spiritual life, more young people employed in education and departments of medicine do not wish to have children, or at least only one child, as against young people in public service departments, even more than young people working in industry departments. A wider gap is shown in this respect, the percentages being 50 per cent, 44 per cent and 38.95 per cent. As young people employed in education and medicine have a higher cultural level, they pay more attention to spiritual than to material life. As for those young people working in public service departments, because of the nature of their profession and the influence they receive from their everyday environment, they are more attached to material values. There is an increasing tendency to have no children or only one child among young people working in education and medicine, because they think that too many children will demand too much time and energy.

It can thus be clearly seen that the reasons for the young people of either sex in all the three professions wanting to have fewer children are basically those which may affect their work and financial status.

What is the influence of these two factors on the ideal number of children for young people in Beijing? How far does it go? To find the correct answer, it is necessary to study further. Table 9 shows the effect of financial position on young people's ideal number of children From this we can see that the financial positions and the numbers of children desired are in weak inverse proportion. According to low, medium and high degrees, with groups 0 and 1 added together, the percentages are as follows: 59.49, 63.55, 66.67.

TABLE 9. Percentage allocation of financial position on young people's ideal number of children in Beijing

Number of children	Financial position		
	Low	Medium	High
0	4.62	5.14	8.55
1	54.87	58.41	58.12
2	40.00	35.51	32.90
3	0.51	0.93	0.43
TOTAL (1071)	(195)	(642)	(234)

Coefficient of correlation (G) = 0.099

When groups 2 and 3 are added together, the percentages diminish according to the low, medium, high order—40.51, 36.44, 33.33. These two different tendencies demonstrate the fact that the ideal number of children may either increase or decrease according to improved financial positions.

Why does the financial position have such a slight effect on young people's ideal number of children? Are there any other reasons? This time, young men and young women were studied separately (Table 10). The following conclusions can be drawn from Table 10.

The desire to have more children increases with the improved social and financial position. This means that the social and financial position reflects the number of children desired.

As far as directions of correlation are concerned, they are opposite for young men and young women; the former is a direct correlation and the latter an inverse correlation. When calculations were made with young people as a whole, only a weak inverse correlation could be drawn.

TABLE 10. Young people's financial position and their ideal number of children (Beijing urban area)

	Financial position (male)			Financial position (female)		
Number of children	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
0	7.53	4.26	6.92	1.96	5.93	10.58
1	52.69	55.08	53.85	56.86	61.42	63.46
2	38.71	39.67	38.46	41.18	31.75	25.96
3	1.08	0.98	0.77	0	0.89	0
TOTAL	(93)	(305)	(130)	(102)	(337)	(104)
(1017)		(528)			(543)	
Coefficient of correlation:		(G) = 0.320			(G) = −0.217	

The so-called direct proportion for young men means that the higher their social and financial position the more children they would like to have. The inverse proportion with young women shows in the decrease in their desire for children with the promotion of their social and financial position.

When studying the choice of family types, it was found that the percentage of young women preferring one child of either sex is higher than the percentage of young men. There was a higher percentage of young men preferring to have a son and a daughter. These two examples show that young women do not have a very strong desire to have many children. Are there any other reasons for the slight inverse proportion between young men and young women in Beijing as far as the relationship between social and financial position and their ideal family types is concerned?

Separate studies were made of the relationship between social and financial position and a desire for children among married and unmarried young people. The results are shown in Table 11.

According to Table 11, the following conclusions

TABLE 11. Percentage allocation according to social and financial position and ideal number of children of young married and unmarried people (Beijing urban area)

Number of children	Financial position (married)			Financial position (unmarried)		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
0	0	1.96	5.26	6.08	5.74	8.84
1	51.06	49.02	78.95	56.08	60.18	56.28
2	48.94	49.02	15.79	37.16	32.96	34.42
3	0	0	0	0.68	1.11	0.48
TOTAL	(47)	(102)	(19)	(148)	(540)	(215)
(1071)		(168)			(903)	
Coefficient of correlation:		(G) = −0.261			(G) = −0.046	

can be drawn: first, both married and unmarried young people have the same tendency in their desire for children. The reaction according to social and financial position is in inverse proportion; second, married young people have a stronger reaction to social and financial position than unmarried ones.

Social and financial position means much more to married young people than to the unmarried. But can it be said that the reaction is exactly the same in all the married young couples? To answer this question a study was conducted amongst married couples, who were divided into two groups; those who already have children and those who do not. The results are shown in Table 12.

From Table 12 it can be seen that there is a strong inverse proportion between financial status and the desire to have children among the young people who have already had children. There is however no distinct indication about the relationship between financial status and the number of children desired among young married people who have not had children.

TABLE 12. Percentage allocation of the ideal number of children and the financial status of young married people with and without children (Beijing urban area)

	Financial status (with children)			Financial status (without children)		
Number of children	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
0	0	0	0	0	4.84	0
1	33.33	58.02	50.00	54.55	53.22	0
2	66.66	41.98	50.00	45.45	41.94	100
TOTAL (166)	(9)	(81)	(2)	(11)	(62)	(1)
Coefficient of correlation:	(G) = −0.359				(G) = 0	

Table 13 is a combination from all the above mentioned questionnaires to show the relation of financial and social position to the number of children wanted in the families.

From Table 13 it can be seen that the higher the social and financial position, the fewer children desired. The proportion is inverse. This is a very important finding. It is also of considerable accuracy, because it has been drawn from quite a large number of samples. It also shows the future tendency of family planning in China. With the development of China, the social and financial position of the young people will

TABLE 13. Proportion of relative numbers. Coefficient of correlation (G) between social and financial condition and number of children wanted

Young people involved	1071	−0.099
Young women	543	−0.217
Young men	528	0.320
Married	168	−0.261
Unmarried	903	−0.040
With children	92	−0.359
Childless	74	0

improve, therefore their desire for children will become relatively less and less. It shows that the population policy of the country may well succeed. More and more young people will co-operate as more of them will fit into the pattern.

Nevertheless, we must not forget that as a whole the inverse proportion is still quite weak, the reason being young men's reluctance to have fewer children. They want more children when their financial condition is improved. The slight inverse among the total number is inevitably shaped because of this direct proportion on the part of the young men. As for the young women, the higher their social and financial position the fewer children they would like to have. The inverse proportion from the young women's viewpoint, though not obvious, is important. It marks the inverse proportion in the relationship between social and financial condition and number of children wanted. That young women go into society and work to gain their independent financial position is not only for their own benefit but also for the benefit of society as a whole.

Another observation has been made on dividing the young people into married and unmarried groups. The unmarried ones have a weaker inverse proportion to the relationship between social and financial position and the number of children wanted than that of young married people. Strictly speaking, to the unmarried ones, love affairs come first. What they want is to find an ideal partner for life, to fulfil their young dreams. They do not think too much about how many children they are going to have. But as soon as marriage is contemplated, the questions of money and the number of children arise. Fortunately, among the married ones, the ideal number of children does not increase with the improvement of their financial condition, which

will therefore bring about not more but fewer children. How does one arrive at this conclusion? Can it be that the higher the position, the more complicated the work becomes, so needing more time and energy? Work and study and child care are not compatible; which may be a good reason. With improved social and financial conditions, the level of education and knowledge rises, making it easier for people to accept family planning.

If the fact of the inverse proportion in young married people's attitude towards their social and financial position and the ideal number of children can be proved, then it could be said that the low inverse proportion of young people as a whole is because of the low inverse proportion of the unmarried people. The number of young unmarried people is 903 and that of married ones 168, so the effect of the low inverse proportion of the married ones on the total proportion is obvious. If the number of young unmarried people was equal to that of married ones, the inverse proportion would be increased; in other words, when those 903 young people are married, the proportion will be much higher. It is therefore possible to be optimistic about the future of the inverse proportion of young people's attitude towards their social and financial condition and their ideal number of children.

Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the inverse proportion between financial condition and the ideal number of children derived from young married people with children is much higher than that of young married people without children; The reason for this is the fact that young people know that too many children will affect their work and study. Young people of different social and financial positions have varying standards of social consciousness.

The same yardstick has been used in measuring the financial conditions of both young married and unmarried people, but slightly differently in the case of married people with children and those without. In the first case, the respondents were asked their profession, income and that of their parents; while, in the second case, apart from the items filled in by the first group, they are also asked the amount of their combined monthly income, sum paid to their parents, and sum of support received from their parents. Another item that young people with children were asked was related to the monthly amount spent on child care, which showed that financial condition does affect the desire for children. The coefficient of correlation (G) of young people with children and the coefficient of correlation (G) of young people without children were measured separately. So the above mentioned extra item added to those people with children only affects the calculation of the coefficient of correlation (G) of young people with children.

To make up for the inadequacy of the coefficient of correlation, Table 14 was constructed to show the average number of children desired.

TABLE 14. Average number of children desired by young people (Beijing urban area) according to financial condition

	Financial status		
	Low	Medium	High
Young men	1.333 (93)	1.374 (305)	1.310 (130)
Young women	1.392 (102)	1.276 (337)	1.154 (104)

Young men (528) average number of children wanted—1.342
Young women (543) average number of children wanted—1.27
TOTAL: 1071 young people, average number of children wanted—1.309

Young men who figure in the medium financial bracket wish to have more children than those in the low and high income groups. This is significant because it involves 305 young people. On the other hand, the transformation from medium to high standard causes a decrease in their ideal number of children; but since it only involves 130 young men it is of not much significance. It can therefore be said that the strong direct proportion is caused by young men of lower and medium financial status. The average number of children desired is smaller than the number wanted by young men of medium and lower standards. This shows that an undercurrent of slight inverse proportion emerges under the main stream of strong direct proportion. It means that as more and more young men move upwards from a lower and medium financial status, they will wish to have fewer and fewer children. As far as young women are concerned, the number of children wanted by young women of lower financial status is higher than the number wanted by young men of the same status. But there is an obvious change in the numbers of children wanted among the young women when their financial status is rising from low to medium and from medium to high—the higher the financial condition the fewer children are wanted. The average number of children wanted by young women of higher financial status is 1.154, very near to that of the one family one child advocated by the population policy. Because of the distinct desire not to have too many children among young women of medium and high financial status, the average number of children wanted by all young women is 1.274; this is considerably different from the average number of children wanted by young men—1.342.

Table 15 shows the average number of children wanted by young married and unmarried people.

TABLE 15. Average number of children desired by young married and unmarried people (Beijing urban area)

	Financial status		
	Low	Medium	High
Young married people	1.489 (47)	1.470 (162)	1.105 (19)
Young unmarried people	1.324 (148)	1.294 (540)	1.265 (215)

The average number of children wanted by the 168 young married people is 1.434. The average number of children wanted by the 903 young unmarried people is 1.292.

Table 15 shows that with an improvement in their financial position the average number of children wanted by both the married and unmarried tends to be lower. Comparatively speaking, the tendency shows more clearly among married people than the unmarried ones, as the average number of children wanted by young unmarried people is lower than that of married ones. However, the average number of children wanted by young unmarried people of higher financial condition is higher than that of married ones. So the inverse proportion among young unmarried people is far lower than that of married ones. We must not take it for granted that the actual number of children wanted by the group with inverse proportion will be smaller than that of the group with direct proportion.

The inverse proportion among young married people is larger (−0.261) with the average number of children wanted (1.434); while the inverse proportion among unmarried young people is smaller (−0.040) with the average number of children wanted (1.292). Despite its bigger inverse proportion, the starting point of the average number of children wanted is also large (1.489). The same thing happens in the unmarried

group, both its inverse proportion and starting point of average numbers are smaller (1.324). The total number of unmarried people is 903, and that of married people is 168. The total number of inverse proportion is relatively lower because of low inverse proportion among unmarried people. Due to the low proportion of ideal number of children, and the majority of married people, the total ideal number of children wanted is also relatively lower. If the samples for young unmarried people are reduced so that they are basically the same for both sides, the average number of children wanted would be greater than 1.309. That being so, one cannot be too optimistic about the family-planning project. This is a point that should not be neglected while preparing statistics.

Table 16 shows that young people of lower and medium financial status, whether they have children or not, tend towards an ideal number of children that is somewhat lower. As for those young people of higher financial status, the sample is too small to be considered. According to the coefficient of correlation, that of young people with children is −0.359, and 0 for those without children. But the ideal average number of children for young people with children is 1.446 and that of young people without children is 1.392. There is a direct proportion between the coefficient of inverse proportion and the ideal average number of children,

TABLE 16. Average number of children wanted by young people with and without children, according to financial status

	Low	Medium	High
Young people with children	1.667 (9)	1.420 (81)	1.500 (2)
Young people without children	1.454 (11)	1.371 (62)	2.000 (1)

TOTAL: Young people with children (92). Average number of children wanted 1.446. Young people without children (74). Average number of children wanted 1.392

TABLE 17. Percentage of the average number of children wanted and its relationship to cultural and educational level of young people (Beijing urban area)

No. of children	Educational level			
	Primary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	University
0	0	4.84	6.50	6.55
1	35.71	56.17	57.91	60.69
2	64.29	38.01	34.46	32.76
3	0	0.97	1.13	0
TOTAL (1071)	(14)	(413)	(354)	(290)

Coefficient of correlation (G) = −0.109

just like the proportion between young married people. This is another proof that to take only the coefficient of correlation is not enough: to have a better understanding attention must also be paid to the average number of children wanted.

Table 17 takes into consideration data relating to the cultural and educational level of young people in Beijing and their reactions to family size.

Table 17 shows a weak inverse proportion between cultural standard and the ideal number of children. A direct proportion is shown in the relationship between educational level and the percentage of young people in the first two groups, i.e. primary school 35.57, junior high school 61.01; that of senior high school being 64.41, and university level 67.24. But an obvious inverse proportion is shown in the relationship between cultural standard and the ideal number of children in the last two groups. The first group is primary school 64.29, with junior high school 38.98, while senior high school is 35.59, and university 32.76. It is very clear that the higher the level of education the fewer children are wanted.

Table 18 shows the relationship between the

TABLE 18. Percentage of ideal number of children, according to young men and young women's educational levels (Beijing urban area)

	Educational level (male)				Educational level (female)			
No of children	Primary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	University	Primary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	University
0	0	5.36	6.38	5.14	0	4.33	6.57	8.70
1	28.57	51.71	51.77	60.57	42.86	60.58	61.97	60.87
2	71.42	41.95	39.72	34.28	57.14	34.13	30.98	30.43
3	0	0.98	2.13	0	0	0.96	0.47	0
TOTAL (7)		(205)	(141)	(175)	(8)	(208)	(213)	(115)
(1017)		(528)				(543)		

educational level of young men and young women separately and their ideal number of children. It also shows the results of separate studies of the relationship between education level and the ideal number of children desired by young men and women. A more obvious increase is in the inverse proportion for young women. Compared with the inverse proportion of −0.217 derived from the ideal number of children of young women from different financial conditions, the inverse proportion between educational level and young women's ideal number of children is −0.487. What about the results of the study of young men? There is a direct proportion between financial condition and their ideal number of children, which is 0.320; but there is an inverse proportion between cultural level and the ideal number of children, which is −0.122.

This means that cultural standards play a more important role in influencing young men's opinion about the number of children. Cultural standard measurement is simple, clear and shows distinct differences. In other words, it is more complicated to

measure financial conditions. At present, in the People's Republic of China there is not much difference in financial development among young people. Therefore, it is both scientific and objective to measure their opinion on childbirth by a cultural yardstick. Any measures not shown in financial conditions can be easily compared by cultural standards—an inverse proportion also appeared for young men.

Nevertheless, one must remember that there is a difference between young men and young women in their opinion about having fewer children. The proportion between 528 young men and 542 young women according to educational level is primary school, 1.32 per cent: 1.29 per cent; junior high school, 38.83 per cent: 38.31 per cent; senior high school, 26.70 per cent: 39.23 per cent; university, 33.14 per cent: 21.21 per cent. The basic figures of young people of primary school and junior high school standards are basically the same, but those of young people in senior high school are different and the percentage of young men is smaller than that of young women. For those young people of university level, the percentage of young men is higher than that of young women. Generally speaking, young women's educational level is slightly lower than that of young men. But the tendency of wanting fewer children is stronger on the

TABLE 19. Average number of children wanted by young men and women (Beijing urban area) according to cultural standards

	Primary school	Junior high school	Senior high school	University
Young men (528)	1.714 (7)	1.385 (205)	1.376 (141)	1.291 (175)
Young women (543)	1.570 (7)	1.317 (208)	1.254 (213)	1.217 (115)

young women's side. This can only be explained by the difference of sexes. A further step will be taken on the basis of a study of the average number of children wanted by young men and young women.

Table 19 shows that the tendency of having fewer children increases with the higher level of education among young men and women, yet there is a difference between them. Generally, young men would prefer to have more children than young women, regardless of their level of education, showing that they are less progressive than young women. This difference does not diminish at a higher education level, which is indeed a surprising discovery.

Chapter 2

Beijing rural areas

From Table 20 and Figure 3 (which is based on data from Table 20) one can see that the most popular category of family is no. 5—one son and one daughter; there are 54.59 per cent of young men and 50.57 per cent of young women in favour of it. The second is 2—a family with only one child regardless of sex. The percentages are 17.87 per cent of young men and 16.86 per cent of young women. The proportion of those who prefer these two types of families is 72.46 per cent of young men and 67.43 per cent of young

TABLE 20. Percentages of different kinds of families preferred by young people living in Beijing rural areas

		Male		Female	
Family type	Category	Percentage	Position	Percentage	Position
No. of children	(1)	1.45	8th	3.06	5th
One child	(2)	17.87	2nd	16.86	2nd
One son	(3)	8.70	3rd	7.28	4th
One daughter	(4)	1.45	9th	1.53	8th
One son and one daughter	(5)	54.59	1st	50.57	1st
One grandparent and a son, a daughter	(6)	3.86	5th	14.56	3rd
Two grandparents, a son and a daughter	(7)	5.80	4th	3.01	6th
Many children	(8)	2.42	7th	0.77	9th
Big family	(9)	3.86	6th	2.30	7th

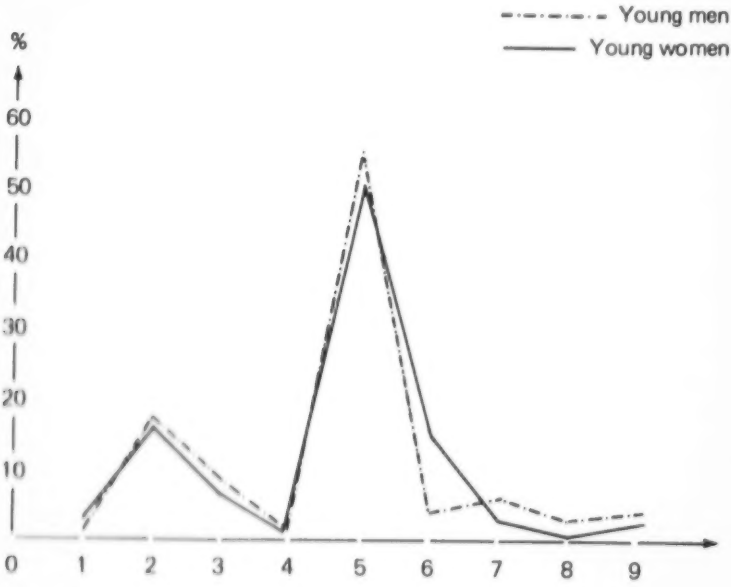

FIG. 3. Percentages of kinds of ideal families of young people in Beijing rural areas. Forms of ideal families according to order: 1—couple only, without children; 2—couple with one child, regardless of sex; 3—couple with one son; 4—couple with one daughter; 5—couple with a son and a daughter; 6—couple with one old parent and two children; 7—couple with two old parents and two children; 8—couple with many children; 9—big family.

women. Young men and young women alike are overwhelmingly in favour of types 5 and 2 families. This gives a vivid picture of ideal families in the rural areas.

By comparison, young people in urban areas have

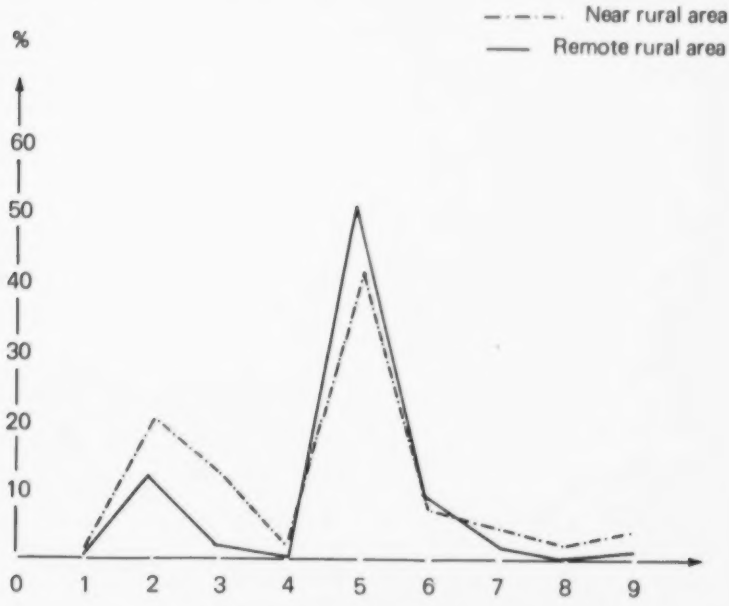

FIG. 4. Percentages of kinds of ideal families of young people living in Beijing Red Star People's Commune's near rural area and Ming Tomb People's Commune's remote rural area.

very different types of ideal families from young people in rural areas. The former prefer to have family type 2 and 5: their ideal family is a combination of type 2 as the dominant and type 5 as the subordinate. The young people of rural areas prefer a combination of type 5 as the dominant and type 2 as the subordinate. Type 2 family consists of the couple and two children.

TABLE 21. Percentages of young people's ideal family types in Beijing rural areas

Family type	Category	Near rural area	Red Star People's Commune position	Remote rural area	Ming Tomb People's Commune position
No child	1	1.88	7th	2.74	6th
One child	2	20.19	2nd	14.90	2nd
One son	3	12.68	3rd	3.92	4th
One daughter	4	1.41	9th	1.57	8th
One son, one daughter	5	45.54	1st	58.04	1st
One grandparent, two children	6	7.51	4th	11.76	3rd
Two grandparents, two children	7	5.16	5th	3.53	5th
Many children	8	1.88	8th	1.18	9th
Big family	9	3.75	6th	2.35	7th

The difference between the ideal family types in urban and rural areas is the preference for one or two children. Differences in financial and social background are the cause.

People living near urban areas and those living in remote rural areas also have different ideal family types (Figure 4 and Table 21).

From Figure 4 and Table 21 we can see that for young people in both near and remote Beijing rural areas the most popular family is the combination of type 5 and type 2, with type 5 as the dominant and type 2 as the subordinate. Because both of these two groups are of a suburban nature, they have kept the rural characteristics in choosing their ideal types of families.

Nevertheless, one cannot overlook the difference between young people of near and remote rural areas. With type 5 as the dominant and type 2 as the subordinate, young people in the remote rural areas tend to be more in favour of the type 5 than type 2 family.

58.84 per cent of young people in the remote rural areas want to have families with a son and a daughter, with 14.9 per cent of them wanting families with only one child, boy or a girl. 45.54 per cent of young people in the near rural areas want to have families of type 5, with 20.19 per cent of them preferring type 2. It can thus be said that young people in the remote rural areas prefer to have more children than young people living in near rural areas; just as young people living in suburbs prefer to have more children than those who live in cities. The cultural levels vary with different localities: remote rural areas, near rural areas, cities. Cities have the highest cultural level, and the ideal number of children of the inhabitants is in inverse proportion to their cultural level. 2.35 per cent of young people living in Beijing rural areas do not want any children; 66.45 per cent of them want to have two children; and 4.49 per cent want more than two children. It is very clear now that a great part of young Beijing country folk want two children.

Because child care hinders their work and study, sixty-one young men and seventy-five young women do not want children or only one child. 86.67 per cent of young women want to improve their material living

Table 22. Percentages of ideal numbers of children wanted by young people of Beijing rural areas according to their financial status

No. of children	Financial status		
	Low	Medium	High
0	0.00	1.80	2.74
1	4.55	21.62	17.81
2	95.45	76.58	79.45
TOTAL (206)	(22)	(111)	(73)

Coefficient of correlation (G) = −0.132

standard; 54.10 per cent of young men and 38.67 per cent of young women want to have a better spiritual life. That is to say, the main reason for not wanting many children is because of work and study, which would allow them to improve their living standard. Young men are more eager to improve their living standard and financial condition. As a whole, young men are more concerned with financial status and a higher living standard, while both young men and young women pay the same attention to their work and study. Table 22 shows the ideal number of children according to financial status.

Table 22 shows a comparatively weak inverse proportion between financial conditions and the ideal number of children of young people living in Beijing rural areas. The number of those who do not want children or only one increases with an improvement in their income, while the number of those wanting two children decreases. This means those who are financially better off prefer to have fewer children. Nevertheless, no matter what the financial status, most of them want to have two children. As for wanting more than two children, not a single example can be

TABLE 23. Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young men and women living in Beijing rural areas according to their financial status

No. of children	Financial status (male)			Financial status (female)		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
0	0	0	3.33	0	2.90	2.32
1	0	23.81	20.00	7.14	20.29	16.28
2	100	76.19	76.67	92.86	76.81	81.40
TOTAL (206)	(8)	(42)	(30)	(14)	(69)	(43)
Coefficient of correlation:	(G) = −0.233			(G) = −0.064		

found, regardless of the financial status. Table 23 illustrates this point.

Table 23 shows that after separating young men and young women, the results are as follows: the relation between financial status and ideal number of children is of inverse proportion for both groups. The coefficient of inverse correlation on young men's side is stronger than that of young women.

To consider the question from all angles, Table 24 was constructed to show the total ideal number of children desired by young people in Beijing rural areas. As far as young men are concerned, those of medium financial status want fewer children than those of lower financial status, and young men of higher financial status want fewer children than those of medium financial status. In other words, young men's ideal number of children diminishes with the increase of income; it is of inverse proportion. An inverse correlation is also found between young women's ideal number of children and their financial status from those in the lower to medium financial bracket, but it is a direct proportion from medium to high financial status. The average number of children wanted by young women of higher financial status is less than that of young women of lower financial status. Therefore,

TABLE 24. Average ideal number of children for young men and women in Beijing rural areas according to their financial status

	Average number of children wanted		
	Low	Medium	High
Young men	2.000	1.762	1.739
(80)	(8)	(42)	(30)
Young women	1.928	1.739	1.791
(126)	(14)	(69)	(43)

The average number of children wanted by young men is 1.775; by young women 1.778.

TABLE 25. Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young people in near and remote Beijing rural areas according to their financial status

No. of children	Financial status			Financial status (remote rural area)		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
0	0	3.85	6.25	0	1.18	1.75
1	14.29	30.77	26.00	0	18.82	15.79
2	85.71	65.38	68.75	100	80.00	82.46
TOTAL (206)	(7)	(26)	(16)	(15)	(35)	(57)
Coefficient of correlation: (G) = 0.155				(G) = −0.153		

The figures do not include those working at commune- and brigade-owned enterprises

there is a weak coefficient of inverse correlation for young women.

The average number of children wanted by young women of lower and medium financial status is smaller than that of young men of the same financial status. Only the average number of children wanted by young women of higher financial status is higher than that of young men of the same financial status. Thus, young women of good financial status want to have more children than young men of the same financial level. Among these 206 young people, the average number of children wanted is 1.777, that of young men is 1.775, and that of young women is 1.778. Actually, the number of children wanted by both groups are very close.

An analysis was also made of near and remote suburbs in Beijing to study the relation between financial status and the average number of children wanted by the young people of Red Star People's Commune in a near rural area and young people of Ming Tomb People's Commune in a remote rural area (Table 25).

Table 25 shows a similarity of inverse correlation

on the number of children desired according to financial status of young people from both near and remote rural areas. Young people from remote rural areas as well as young people from near rural areas have the same idea about the number of children. The difference in their ideal numbers cannot be found from Table 25; one has to look further into the number of children wanted by young people from both near and remote rural areas.

Table 26 shows that young people both from the near and remote countryside have similar opinions about numbers of children. Young people of medium financial status want to have fewer children than young people of lower financial status. A higher ideal number of children is shown in the column for young people of better financial status, but the rate is lower than the average number of children wanted by young people of lower financial status. On the whole, the ideal numbers of children for young people from remote rural areas is higher than that for young people from near rural areas, the proportions being 1.815:1.653.

The young people working at commune- and brigade-owned enterprises have been excluded from

TABLE 26. Average number of children wanted by young people in near and remote Beijing rural areas according to financial status

	Average number of children wanted		
	Low	Medium	High
Near rural area	1.857	1.615	1.625
(49)	(7)	(26)	(16)
Remote rural area	2.00	1.788	1.807
(157)	(15)	(85)	(57)

The figures do not include those who work at commune- and brigade-owned enterprises

The average number of children wanted by young people from near rural areas is 1.653, and those from remote rural areas is 1.815

TABLE 27. Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young workers at commune- and brigade-owned enterprises according to their financial status

No. of children	Financial status		
	Low	Medium	High
0	10.53	1.37	0
1	26.32	32.88	45.45
2	63.16	63.01	45.45
3	0	2.74	9.09
TOTAL (103)	(19)	(73)	(11)

Coefficient of correlation: (G) = 0.045

all the statistics mentioned above, because the standard for measuring their financial status is different from that used for other young people. A separate analysis has therefore been made to compare them with other young country folk to find out the difference between them. The correlation between their financial status and the average number of children they want is shown in Table 27.

A weak direct correlation is shown between the ideal numbers of children and the financial status of the young workers of Beijing rural areas. Weak as it is, it is still a coefficient of direct correlation. A better analysis can be shown by undertaking a coefficient of correlation concerning young men and young women respectively (Table 28).

There is a rather strong direct correlation between the young men's ideal number of children and their financial status, while a weak inverse correlation is shown for young women. Therefore a direct weak correlation is shown when numbers for young men and young women are calculated together. Once more, it proves that, as far as the question of the number of children is concerned, young men are not so pro-

TABLE 28. Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young workers of commune- and brigade-owned enterprises according to their financial status

No. of children	Financial status (male)			Financial status (female)		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
0	0	0	0	14.28	2.04	0
1	60.00	29.17	20.00	14.28	34.69	66.67
2	40.00	70.83	60.00	71.43	59.18	33.33
3	0	0	20.00	0	4.08	0
TOTAL (103)	(5)	(24)	(5)	(14)	(49)	(6)
Coefficient of correlation:	(G) = 0.538			(G) = −0.199		

TABLE 29. Average number of children wanted by young men and young women working at commune- and brigade-owned enterprises according to their financial status

	Average number of children wanted		
	Low	Medium	High
Young men	1.400	1.708	2.000
(34)	(5)	(24)	(5)
Young women	1.571	1.653	1.333
(69)	(14)	(49)	(6)

The average number of children wanted by young men is 1.706; by young women 1.609.

gressive as young women. For further explanation, one can compare the total number of children wanted by young men and young women working at commune- and brigade-owned enterprises (Table 29).

The financial status of young people working in commune- or brigade-owned enterprises is better than that of common commune members, and their cultural standard is higher. According to Table 29, the average number of children wanted by each worker out of the 103 young workers is 1.641. The average number of children wanted by each young commune

member out of the 206 young country folk is 1.777. As has been already noted, the tendency of wanting fewer children increases with the growth of financial income. Taking the average number of children wanted as a good example one can predict whether the financial and cultural conditions are good or not. As the average number of children wanted by young workers in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises is lower than that of ordinary young country folk, it means that their financial and cultural standards are higher than those of ordinary commune members. When the financial conditions of the thirty-four young workers of the commune- and brigade-owned enterprises are compared with the eighty ordinary agricultural workers, their ideal number of children decreases: 1.775 to 1.706. Nevertheless, the coefficient of correlation of the former is 0.538 and that of the latter is −0.233. Table 30 shows the average number of children wanted by these young people according to their financial condition.

The average number of children wanted by each young farmer is higher than that wanted by the young worker, except in the high income category. But there is an obvious inverse correlation for the former and an obvious direct correlation for the latter when financial conditions are changing for the better. There-

TABLE 30. Average number of children wanted by young farmers and young workers according to their financial status

	Average number of children wanted		
	Low	Medium	High
Young farmers	2.000	1.762	1.733
(80)	(8)	(42)	(30)
Young workers	1.400	1.708	2.000
(34)	(5)	(24)	(5)

fore, the method of coefficient of correlation does not help. To serve the purpose, one must turn to the method of calculating the average of the ideal number of children wanted by young people. Of course each method has its advantages and disadvantages. Only by using both methods can one view matters comprehensively and avoid making mistakes which are inevitable if only one method is used.

The average number of children wanted by young men working at commune- and brigade-owned enterprises is not high, despite the fact of the coefficient of direct correlation between their ideal number of children and their financial status. They have the same idea as young men in the Beijing urban area, which means that their ideas on the question of family size are rather conservative.

Apart from comparison already made between

TABLE 31. Average number of children wanted by young women commune workers and young women agricultural workers according to their financial status

	Average number of children wanted		
	Low financial status	Medium financial status	High financial status
Young women agricultural workers (126)	1.928 (14)	1.739 (69)	1.791 (43)
Young women commune workers (69)	1.571 (14)	1.653 (49)	1.333 (6)

Average number of children wanted by young women agricultural workers is 1.778 and by young women commune workers 1.609. The coefficient of correlation of young women agricultural workers' ideal number of children and their financial status is −0.064 and those of young women agricultural workers is −0.199

young men working in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises and ordinary young men from the countryside, Table 31 shows comparisons between opinions of young women commune workers and young women agricultural workers in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises.

Both the coefficients of correlation of young women agricultural workers and young women commune workers' ideal number of children and financial status shown in Table 31 are of inverse correlation, but the former is a smaller figure. The average number of children wanted by young women agricultural workers is also higher than that of young women commune workers. The average number of children wanted by young women agricultural workers of medium financial status is lower than those young women agricultural workers of both low and high financial status. The average number of children wanted by young men workers is higher than that of young women workers of high financial status, as well as young women of low financial status. One can thus see that young women workers are more progressive in their attitude to having fewer children. It is a reminder that communes and brigades should educate their young commune members further on the importance of contraception, especially to help their young women members to understand its meaning.

Table 32 is a study of the cultural and educational effects of young country folk about the number of children they want (including young people working in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises) in Beijing rural areas. There is an obvious coefficient of inverse correlation between the ideal number of children wanted by young people in Beijing rural areas and their cultural standards. But the coefficient of correlation between young peasants (206 of them) and

TABLE 32. Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young people of Beijing rural areas and their cultural and educational standards

No. of children	Educational levels				
	Illiterate	Primary	Junior high	Senior high	University
0	0	3.03	1.48	2.47	0
1	0	18.18	22.28	28.40	100
2	100	72.73	74.26	69.13	0
3	0	6.06	1.98	0	0
TOTAL (319)	(2)	(33)	(202)	(81)	(1)
Coefficient of correlation (G) = −0.220					

TABLE 33. Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young men and women in Beijing rural areas according to their cultural levels

No. of children	Cultural levels (male)				Cultural levels (female)			
	Primary	Junior high	Senior high	University	Primary	Junior high	Senior high	University
0	0	0	0	0	3.85	21.56	3.92	0
1	28.57	25.88	26.67	0	15.38	19.66	29.41	100
2	71.43	70.59	73.33	100	73.08	76.92	99.67	0
3	0	3.53	0	0	7.69	0.85	0	0
TOTAL (319)	(7)	(85)	(30)	(2)	(26)	(117)	(51)	(1)
Coefficient of correlation: (G) = −0.037					(G) = −0.279			

their cultural standard is −0.132, while that of the 103 young workers of commune- and brigade-owned enterprises is 0.045. In this case, comparison of cultural standards shows up more clearly.

Financial status cannot usually be separated from cultural standards for those who are financially well off enjoy a higher cultural level. Nevertheless, the results from financial comparisons are not as revealing as those drawn from cultural level.

In order to know more about the differences of opinion about numbers of children wanted by young

TABLE 34. Average of ideal number of children wanted by young men and young women in Beijing rural areas according to their cultural levels

	Illiterate	Primary	Junior high	Senior high	University
Young men		1.714	1.776	1.733	
(122)		(7)	(85)	(30)	
Young women	2.000	1.846	1.761	1.627	1.000
(197)	(2)	(26)	(117)	(51)	(1)

The average number of children wanted by each young man out of the total of 122 is 1.762.

The average number of children wanted by each young woman out of the total of 194 is 1.737.

The average number of children wanted by each young person out of the total of 316 is 1.747.

TABLE 35. Cultural levels of young men and young women in Beijing rural areas

		Young men (%) (122)		Young women (%) (194)	
Primary	(33)	5.74	(7)	13.40	(26)
Junior high	(202)	69.67	(85)	60.31	(117)
Senior high	(81)	24.57	(30)	26.29	(51)
TOTAL	(316)		(122)		(194)

men and young women, separate studies were made (Tables 33, 34 and 35).

The young men and young women are of approximately the same cultural levels, yet there are differences. Most of the young men are of junior high school level, while fewer young women are of this level. There are a greater number of young women at the primary school level, but many of them are also of senior high school level. The difference in levels of education reflects the opinions on numbers of children wanted: a high coefficient of inverse correlation (−0.279); a decisive factor of fixing the direction and

the rate in the coefficient of correlation of young men and young women together (−0.220). The average ideal number of children wanted by young women is 1.737, lower than that of young men (1.762). There is a steady inverse proportion between young women's educational level and their ideal number of children—the higher the education level the lower the ideal number of children. At the primary school level, young women's ideal number of children is 1.846, much higher than the highest for young men (1.714). But at senior high school level young women's ideal number of children drops to 1.627, compared to 1.733 for young men. Thus cultural level has more effect on young women's attitude to family size.

On the other hand, there is a very weak coefficient of inverse correlation (−0.037) on young men's side. The ideal number of children for young men of junior high school level is 1.776, only a little higher than that of young men of primary school level (1.714). Young men's ideal number of children increases with the advance of education level in direct proportion to the level of education. The average ideal number of children wanted by young men of senior high school level is 1.733, higher than that of young men of primary school level (1.714). The average ideal number of children for young men is as high as 1.762 and that of young women 1.737. All in all, young men are less amenable to the question of birth-control.

Chapter 3

Sichuan urban areas

According to Table 36 and Figure 5 (which is based on Table 36), one can clearly see that young people in Sichuan county towns prefer family type 2 and 5. Their preference is a combination of type 2 as the dominant and type 5 as the subordinate. Another significant finding is that young men and young women have similar ideals. This aspect is exactly the same as that of Beijing. Sichuan county towns and Beijing city are hundreds of miles apart, yet the ideal family types young people prefer are basically the same.

TABLE 36. Ideal family types of young people in Sichuan county towns

Family type	Category	Percentage	Male (position)	Percentage	Female (position)
No children	(1)	2.32	6th	1.45	7th
One child (either sex)	(2)	44.19	1st	47.83	1st
One son	(3)	9.30	3rd	5.79	3rd
One daughter	(4)	4.65	4th	5.79	4th
One son, one daughter	(5)	30.23	2nd	27.54	2nd
Two children, one old parent	(6)	4.65	5th	4.35	6th
Two children, two old parents	(7)	2.32	7th	5.79	5th
Many children	(8)	0.00	—	0.00	—
Big family	(9)	2.32	8th	1.45	8th

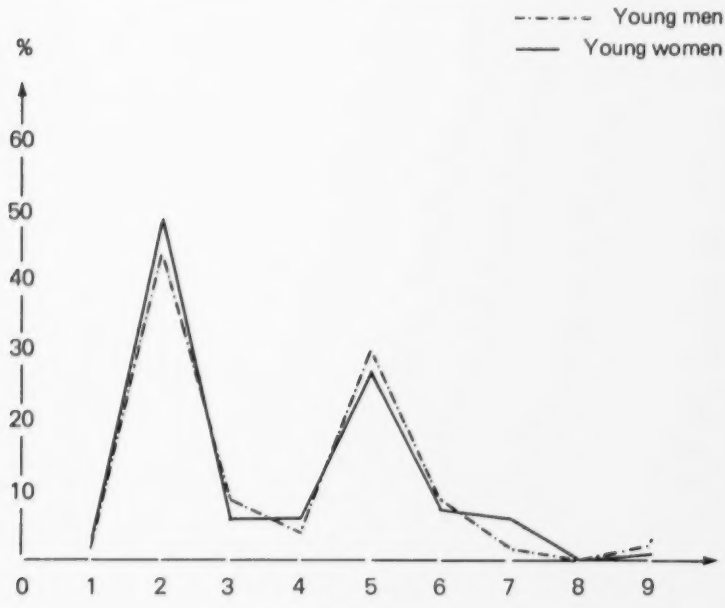

FIG. 5. Percentages of kinds of ideal families of young people in Sichuan county towns. Forms of ideal families arranged according to order: 1—couple only, without children; 2—couple with one child (of either sex); 3—couple with one son; 4—couple with one daughter; 5—couple with one son, one daughter; 6—couple with one old parent and two children; 7—couple with two old parents and two children; 8—couple with many children; 9—big family.

On the other hand, Beijing urban and rural areas are closely connected geographically, yet the family types chosen by young people of the two areas are not the same. In fact, they have just the opposite types of family as the dominant and the subordinate. Why? It

is because both Beijing urban area and Sichuan county towns are metropolises, and though a long distance apart their urban characteristics are similar. Geographical proximity does not necessarily eliminate the differences between urban and rural characteristics. The similarities between Beijing urban area and Sichuan county towns are the same with respect to social, economic and cultural characteristics. Similarly, the differences between Beijing urban and rural areas are shown in their social, economic and cultural characteristics. Social economy and culture can profoundly affect human attitudes.

It is important to note the differences between young people's opinions on family size, having seen the similarities between young people of Beijing urban area and young people of Sichuan county towns as the former have better financial status and cultural standards than the latter. These differences inevitably affect their opinions on family size.

What then are the differences? Table 36 shows that it has been found that young people in Sichuan county towns tend to want more children. However, a more obvious difference is shown between young men and young women in Beijing, and there is not much difference between young men and young women in Sichuan regarding their desire for having fewer children.

TABLE 36. Differences in opinion on family size of young people in Beijing urban area and Sichuan county towns (percentages)

	No child	One child	Two children	More than two children
Beijing	5.79	57.70	35.16	0.75
Sichuan	2.46	67.21	30.33	0.00

TABLE 37. Differences in opinion on family type of young men and young women in Sichuan county towns and in Beijing urban area

	Sichuan county towns		Beijing urban area	
	Young men (%)	Young women (%)	Young men (%)	Young women (%)
Family type 2 (one child of either sex)	44.19	47.83	43.47	51.82
Family type 5 (one son, one daughter)	30.23	27.54	26.54	19.12

In any area, the higher the financial status and cultural levels the more obvious the difference in the desire to have fewer children between young men and young women. The difference however is apparent between young men and young women in Sichuan, which means Sichuan is behind Beijing as far as the question of having fewer children is concerned. Furthermore, fewer young women in Sichuan county towns want fewer children than in Beijing.

Table 37 shows that there are 47.83 per cent of Sichuan young women who prefer family type 2 (one child of either sex) against 51.82 per cent of young women in Beijing; and 27.54 per cent against 19.12 per cent for family type 5 (one son, one daughter). The conclusion is that Sichuan young women are not so progressive as young women in Beijing in their attitude to having fewer children.

Young women's opinion on family size is more reliable and can better reflect the conditions of an area because it represents the general ideas. One can therefore take women's opinion on family size to prove that young women in Sichuan are less progressive on this question than young women in Beijing. For physical reasons women have more responsibilities where children are concerned. It is only natural that

young women should tend towards having fewer children, releasing them from a hitherto perhaps unwanted burden. But the idea of fewer children is limited by social and economic conditions and personal, financial and cultural standards. They are also bound to be influenced by the opinion of their parents and young men: their ideas of having fewer children will be compromised. However, young women enjoying higher financial status and cultural levels can liberate themselves from their parents' and their husbands' influence, and follow the tendency of having their own fewer children. Therefore, young women's opinion on birth rate is in inverse proportion to their financial status and cultural standards, and in much more obvious inverse proportion than men's. In Beijing rural areas, one finds little difference in the ideal number of children for young men and young women who are financially and culturally backward. Among the young workers who have higher financial status and cultural standards, however, young women want fewer children than young men. The close relationship between financial status, cultural standards and the tendency of wanting fewer children has been shown in many of the above-mentioned cases, in Beijing as well as in other places.

TABLE 38. Ideal number of children wanted by young people in Sichuan county towns

No. of children	Financial status		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
0	5.88	0	0
1	78.43	59.70	50.00
2	15.69	40.30	50.00
TOTAL (122)	(51)	(67)	(4)
Coefficient of correlation: (G) = 0.577			

The material pertaining to Sichuan was not so positive. To avoid confusion, the position will be explained as the analysis is made.

Table 38 shows the economic effects on young people's ideal family size in Sichuan county towns.

There are several shortcomings in Table 38, for most of the 122 young people are of low financial status; there are very few in a high economic position. This was a mistake made when selecting the samples. This being the case, analysis was concentrated on young people of medium and lower financial status.

Many young people of lower income do not want to have any children but none of those young people of medium financial positions is willing to remain childless. 78.43 per cent of young people in a lower position want only one child while only 59.70 per cent of young people of lower financial status are willing to have two children, while 40.30 per cent of young people young people of lower financial status are willing to have two children, while 40.30 per cent of young people of medium financial position would like to have two children. This shows an inconsistency with the data

TABLE 39. Number of children wanted by young men and young women in Sichuan county towns according to their financial status

	Financial status					
	Young men			Young women		
No. of children	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
0	5.25	0		6.25	0	0
	(1)	—	—	(2)	—	—
1	84.21	63.41	100	75.00	53.85	33.33
	(16)	(26)	(1)	(24)	(14)	(1)
2	10.53	36.59	0	18.75	46.15	66.66
	(2)	(15)	—	(6)	(12)	(2)
TOTAL	(19)	(41)	(1)	(32)	(26)	(3)
Coefficient of correlation:	(G) = 0.607				(G) = 0.611	

from Beijing urban and rural areas. It is also inconsistent with the data from Sichuan county towns. The Sichuan county towns include Dayi County and Leshan City. The studies made in these two places are not without their mistakes, for which explanations will be given.

The opinions of young men and young women on the number of children desired have been analysed separately and observations made on economic effects on the choice of ideal family types (Table 39).

After separate studies had been made for young men and young women, it was found that too many young women of lower financial status were chosen. The other mistakes are not revealed in Table 38.

Table 40 lists statistics according to separate districts. Observations have been made on the effects of social and financial status on young people's attitude to family size.

The mistakes in the choice of samples are clearly shown in Table 40. The sample in Leshan has too many young people of low financial status and few medium and high financial status. As most of the samples show young people of low financial status, young people of

TABLE 40. Ideal number of children wanted by young people in Leshan City and Dayi County, Sichuan

No. of children	Financial status (Lesham)			Financial status (Dayi)		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
0	6.12	0	0	0	0	0
1	77.55	62.5	0	100	59.32 (35)	100
2	16.33	37.5	100	0	40.68 (24)	0
TOTAL (122)	(49)	(8) (59)	(2)	(2)	(59) (63)	(2)
Coefficient of correlation: (G) = 0.704					(G) = 0	

the other two groups are too few to be representative. It is therefore not appropriate to make an analysis on the basis of financial status. What is more, this group of young people have their special characteristics, which are not suitable for observations on their attitude to family size, as all of them are young people under the age of 23 (40 per cent of them are 18 and 19) working in the neighbourhood committee. Most of them are still waiting for jobs and working in the handicraft co-operatives. As they do not have fixed jobs or incomes, they have not thought of marriage and children. Many wrote on the questionnaires that they were not qualified for marriage materially, let alone having families. Only 59 young people out of over 110 who received the questionnaires filled them in. Of these young people 83.05 per cent are not well off; 13.56 per cent of these 59 young people are of medium financial conditions and only 3.39 per cent are well-to-do. Perhaps it is because most of the young people are not well off that 83.67 per cent of them decided not to have any children or to have only one child, with the result that the lower the financial status the fewer children are wanted. This is misleading for if their financial condition improved a different reaction would be seen. The average number of children wanted by young people in Leshan is 1.169. The average number of children wanted by the forty-nine young people in lower financial status is 1.102, and that of young people in medium financial status 1.375, with only two young people in a higher financial status wanting two children. The number of this group of young people is too small to be significant as well as being the exception. So this percentage does not count. The number of young people in a medium financial status is also too small, but, as they are financially more stable, their ideal number of children is more consistent.

Fifty-nine young people out of the sixty-three from Dayi County have medium financial status, whereas there are only two in each of the other two groups. Obviously this is not enough to measure the effect on their ideal number of children according to their financial status. The coefficient of correlation is (G) = 0. The group of young people work in Dayi Chemical Fertilizer Mill, most of them having transferred from city schools, staying for about two or three years. Their financial positions were therefore in the medium range but neither their ages nor their incomes are representative of the masses of young people in Dayi.

How the cultural and educational levels affect young people's ideas about family size in these two medium size cities and towns can be seen from Table 41.

Their attitudes to family size differ when examined from a cultural rather than an economic point of view. The division of these young people among different educational levels—primary school, junior high school and senior high school—is proportional, unlike the economic division, which is over concentrated in lower and medium classes. It is therefore very difficult to get the coefficient of correlation between

TABLE 41. Young people's ideal number of children according to their educational and cultural levels (Sichuan county towns)

No. of children	Educational level		
	Primary school (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)
0	0	0	5.45
1	66.67	79.07	58.18
2	33.33	20.93	36.36
TOTAL (122)	(24)	(43)	(55)
Coefficient of correlation: (G) = 0.446			

their financial status and the ideal number of children wanted. Apart from the mistakes already mentioned the choice of samples was not made carefully enough. There is another more widespread error, for among the young people included in the study are those aged 15 to 25 or 30 who are young, have not worked for long and some of whom are still studying (college students in Beijing urban area). Their financial status is similar, so to divide them into low, medium and high is not appropriate and to use them as a yardstick to observe their attitude to family size is undesirable. When analysing the statistics on young people in Beijing, it was shown that financial status alone would not be enough to measure young people's opinions on family size. They are not as effective a measure as are their cultural levels.

The division pertaining to educational levels is more reliable and in this case the figure of the coefficient of direct correlation drops from 0.577 to 0.059.

It is understandable that those who do not wish to have any children are in the senior high school group. However, when division is made as to their financial status those who do not want to have any children are of low financial status, which is rather hard to understand.

An analysis of the mistakes in the design of the study on young people's opinions on family size is helpful, as one can see that, in studying young people's opinions on this subject, emphasis has to be laid on the results according to educational levels as the results from an economic point of view can be misleading.

Table 42 refers to Dayi and Leshan.

Most of the young people in Dayi are divided into junior and senior high school groups, only one person is in the primary group. The mistakes in the

TABLE 42. Ideal number of children wanted by young people in Dayi County and Leshan City, Sichuan Province, according to cultural levels

No. of children	Educational level (Dayi)			Educational level (Leshan)		
	Primary school (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)	Primary school (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)
0	0	0	0	0	0	15.79
1	100	73.08	52.78	65.22	88.24	68.42
2	0	26.92	47.22	34.78	11.76	15.79
TOTAL (122)	(1)	(26)	(36)	(23)	(17)	(19)
		(63)			(59)	
Coefficient of correlation:		(G) = 0.446			(G) = −0.510	

TABLE 43. Average number of children wanted by young people in Dayi and Leshan of Sichuan Province, according to cultural levels

	Average number of children wanted		
	Primary school	Junior high	Senior high
Young people in Dayi	1.000	1.269	1.472
	(1)	(26)	(36)
Young people in Leshan	1.348	1.118	1.000
	(23)	(17)	(19)

The average number of children wanted by young people in Dayi is 1.381, and those in Leshan is 1.170.

choice of samples lead to an imbalance. The three groups of young people in Leshan are more reasonably spread. There are more young people of primary school level and 34.78 per cent of them would like to have two children. The percentages of young people of the other two groups who want to have two children are 11.76 per cent and 15.79 per cent respectively. The

percentages are lower than those of primary school level.

This shows that people of lower educational level prefer to have more children. If more samples of primary school level were added to that of Dayi, there would be a different coefficient of correlation.

To make up for the inadequacy of the coefficient of correlation method, the average numbers of the ideal numbers of children wanted by young people of Dayi and Leshan are shown in Table 43.

The average number of children wanted by young people in Leshan decreases with the increasing educational level. This is in accordance with the previously mentioned rule of coefficient of inverse correlation. Nevertheless, as was mentioned earlier, it is their uncertain financial status which causes their rather low indexes of ideal number of children. The average number of children wanted by young people in Leshan is 1.176, and the average number of children wanted by young people in Dayi is 1.381. Obviously, the average number of children wanted by young people in Leshan is too low; it does not reflect what they really want. It also lowers the average ideal number of children of young people of the two Sichuan county towns to 1.279. Compared with the average number in Leshan (1.381), the average number of Dayi is a little too low. According to the analysis, the direction of the coefficient of correlation in Leshan is correct and yet the average ideal number of children is rather low; the direction of coefficient of correlation in Dayi lacks the value of representativeness, and yet the average ideal number of children is correct.

Finally, data have been analysed to show different figures of the ideal number of children wanted by both young men and young women according to their cultural levels (Table 44).

TABLE 44. Ideal number of children wanted by young people in Sichuan according to their cultural levels

No. of children	Educational level (Dayi)			Educational level (Leshan)		
	Primary school (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)	Primary school (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)
0	0	0	3.85	0	0	6.90
1	87.50	77.78	57.69	56.25	81.75	58.62
2	12.50	22.22	38.46	43.75	18.75	34.48
TOTAL (122)	(8)	(27)	(26)	(16)	(16)	(29)
		(61)			(61)	
Coefficient of correlation:	(G) = 0.333			(G) = −0.136		

TABLE 45. The average number of children wanted by young people in Sichuan county towns according to their educational levels

	Average number of children wanted by each young person		
	Primary school	Junior high	Senior high
Young men	1.125	1.226	1.346
(61)	(8)	(27)	(26)
Young women	1.437	1.187	1.276
(61)	(16)	(16)	(29)

The average number of children wanted by young men is 1.262, and those by young women is 1.295

Tables 44 and 45 show that when studies were made of young women's opinions, two facts worth noting emerged. First, there is an inverse proportion between their educational levels and the ideal numbers of children. Second, the average number of children wanted by young women is 1.295, i.e. higher than that of young men which is 1.262. Young women of primary school group want a much higher average number of children—1.437.

The analysis according to the average number of ideal children for young women follows. It was

previously pointed out that the average ideal number of children wanted by young people in Sichuan county towns was too low. This is because the choice of samples in Leshan was not good. It has however been found out that young women's ideal number of children is higher than young men's, especially in the primary school group. There are altogether twenty-four young people of primary school level in Dayi and Leshan, of whom twenty-three are in Leshan city, including sixteen young women and seven young men. There are fifty-nine young people in Leshan city, of whom sixteen are young women whose average ideal number of children is 1.437. One might take it for granted that the average ideal number of children in Leshan would be higher than that of Dayi; but in fact it is just the opposite. The proportion is Dayi:Leshan = 1.381:1.170, that of Leshan being lower than that of Dayi. Why? It is because of the young men in Leshan. As was earlier observed, due to the instability of their income, Leshan young people were not anxious to get married, let alone plan a family, but only a small number of young men had been taken into consideration. As their ideal number of children is so low it affects the total average number of Leshan young people's ideal number of children. It also makes the average number in Sichuan urban areas lower, resulting in the unusual aspect of finding a lower average ideal birth rate in Sichuan than in Beijing.

As there are mistakes in the selection of samples in Sichuan, and as there is also an average ideal number of children which is too low among Leshan young men, comparatively speaking, the statistics regarding young women are more reliable. So the proportion of Sichuan urban young women's ideal numbers of children and their cultural levels shown in Table 44 are valuable. It shows that young people in Sichuan are

just like young people in Beijing; there is an inverse proportion between their ideal number of children and their educational levels. One presumes, had samples been properly chosen, there would also be an inverse proportion between their ideal number of children and their financial status, although the result would not be as clear as the one given by cultural levels. The average ideal number of children of young women from Sichuan is 1.295. Compared with Beijing young women's 1.274, that of Sichuan is higher, which is normal and understandable. Presumably, the average ideal number of children of young men from Sichuan should also be higher than that of young men in Beijing. The average ideal number of children of young men in Beijing is 1.342. That of young men in Sichuan should be higher than this with the total average ideal number of children of young people in Sichuan being higher than that of young people in Beijing.

Chapter 4

Sichuan rural areas

Figure 6 is based on the data in Table 46 and from these one can see that the ideal family types in Sichuan rural areas tend to be types 5 and 2. Most of the young people choose type 5. This choice is different from that of young people in Beijing urban area and Sichuan urban areas, but coincides with that of young people in Beijing rural areas. Therefore, in the choice of family types, the statistical material on Sichuan rural areas shows the special characteristics of the countryside.

Nevertheless, there is an obvious difference between Beijing and Sichuan rural areas for there is a

TABLE 46. Ideal family types of young people in Sichuan rural areas

Family types	Class	Male		Female	
		Percentage	Position	Percentage	Position
No child	(1)	0	—	0	—
One child of either sex	(2)	10.24	3rd	11.47	2nd
One son	(3)	2.36	5th	4.92	5th
One daughter	(4)	0.79	7th	1.64	7th
One son, one daughter	(5)	61.42	1st	59.02	1st
Two children, one old parent	(6)	3.94	4th	6.56	4th
Two children, two old parents	(7)	2.36	6th	4.10	6th
Many children	(8)	18.11	2nd	10.65	3rd
Big family	(9)	0.79	8th	1.64	8th

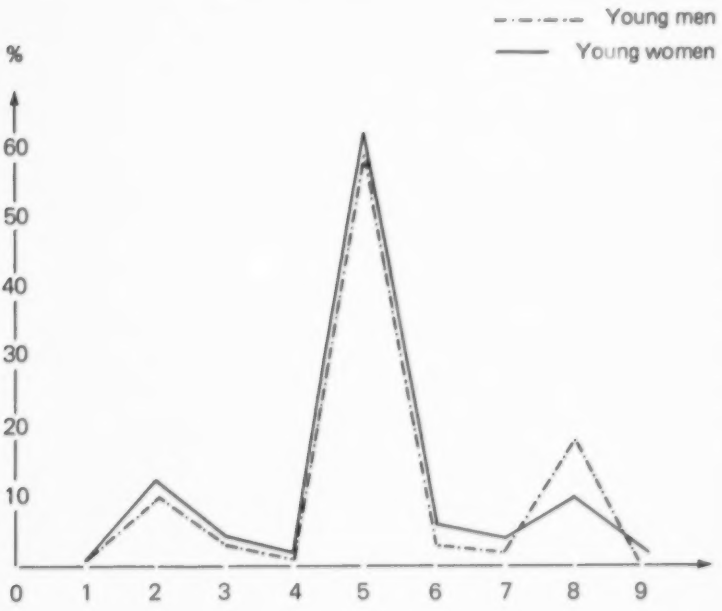

FIG. 6. Percentages of kinds of ideal families of young people in Sichuan rural areas. Forms of families according to order: 1—couple only, without children; 2—couple with one child of either sex; 3—couple with one son; 4—couple with one daughter; 5—couple with a son and a daughter; 6—couple with an old parent and two children; 7—couple with two old parents and two children; 8—couple with many children; 9—big family.

special feature in Sichuan rural areas which has not been shown in Beijing rural areas. Besides the concentration on types 5 and 2, there is a new type which figures in the choice of young people in Sichuan rural

areas, namely 8—a family with many children. The percentages are 18.11 per cent of young men and 10.65 per cent of young women who would like to have that type of family which did not appear in Beijing rural areas. The percentages of Beijing rural young people who chose type 8 are 2.42 per cent for young men and 0.77 per cent for young women, but they are so low that there is no comparison with that of Sichuan rural areas.

Such a difference shown in the choice of type 8 cannot be dismissed lightly. It is not enough to say that Sichuan rural areas are more backward than Beijing rural areas, because the samples gathered in Sichuan rural areas included young people of Yi and Zang nationalities. Due to these different nationalities, conditions in Sichuan rural areas are somewhat different from other rural areas. Studies have therefore been made according to different nationalities and the

TABLE 47. Ideal family types of young people of Han, Zang and Yi nationalities in Sichuan rural areas

Family types	Class	Hans (135)		Zang (41)		Yi (43)	
		Percentage	Position	Percentage	Position	Percentage	Position
No child	(1)	0	—	0	—	0	—
One child either sex	(2)	14.63	2nd	7.32	3rd	0	—
One son	(3)	4.27	5th	0	—	44.4	3rd
One daughter	(4)	1.83	6th	0	—	0	—
One son, one daughter	(5)	65.85	1st	82.93	1st	20.00	2nd
Two children, one old parent	(6)	5.49	3rd	9.76	2nd	0	—
Two children, two old parents	(7)	4.88	4th	0	—	0	—
Many children	(8)	1.22	8th	0	—	75.56	1st
Big family	(9)	1.83	7th	0	—	0	—

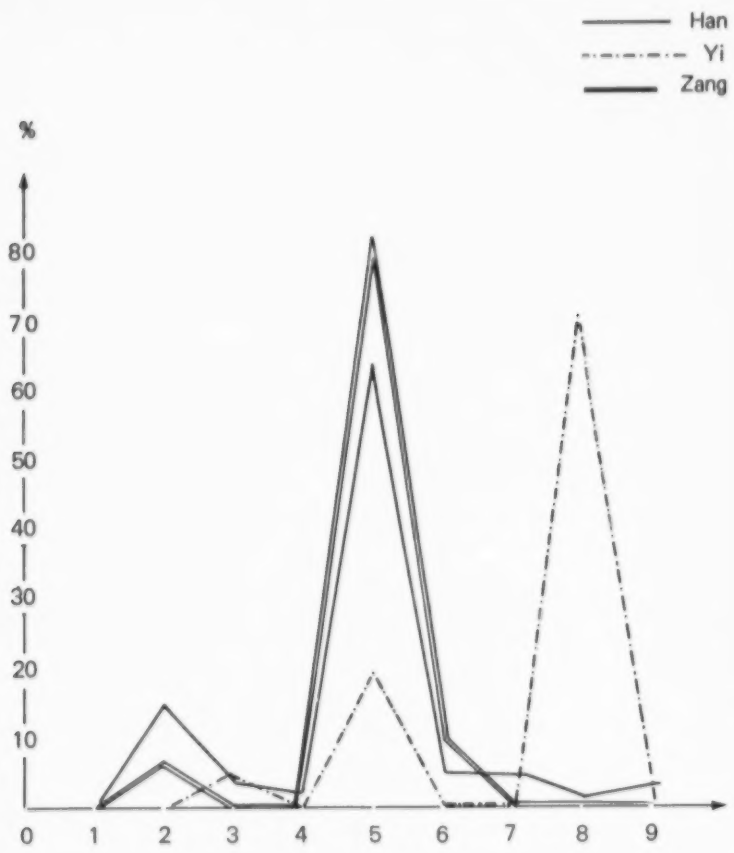

FIG. 7. Percentages of kinds of ideal families of young people of Han, Zang and Yi nationalities in Sichuan rural areas.

results of these are shown in Table 47 and Figure 7.

Figure 7 shows that 75.56 per cent of Yi young people prefer type 8, although neither Han nor Zang young people like that kind of family. Only 1.22 per cent of Han and zero per cent of Zang young people would choose families of type 8. It is a unique characteristic which belongs to Yi nationalities that their young people like to have many children. In this, they have nothing in common with Han or Zang young people.

As for Zang young people, their favourite types are 5, 6 and 2, especially type 5. 82.93 per cent of Zang young people prefer type 5. Both 5 and 6 type families consist of two children, and 92.69 per cent of Zang young people prefer to have one of these two types of families. Only 7.32 per cent of Zang young people wish to have one child. Most Zang young people would like to have two children and very few of them would like to have only one child. This characteristic does not exist among young people in Han regions.

In Sichuan rural areas, the ideal family types of Han young people vary from type 2 to type 9, though it tends to be rather concentrated in type 5, followed by type 2. 65.85 per cent of them choose type 5, and 14.63 per cent type 2. Those who are in favour of the other six types are all under 5 per cent. In this respect, there is a similarity with that of Beijing rural areas, for what was found there is true also of Sichuan Han rural areas. Conversely, what is observed in Sichuan Han rural areas has been justified by the statistics from Beijing rural areas. The similarity between the two areas may be shared by other Han rural areas.

To compare Han and Yi rural areas it must be noted that although both are rural they each contain different nationalities having their own characteristics, resulting in a large variation in the number of children

desired. Comparing the two only expounds the differences between those two regions, underlining the limitations in both. Nevertheless, the comparison between Sichuan Han and Beijing rural areas shows that there are many things in common between these two regions.

However, to have combined the three nationalities together for study would have been misleading. From Table 47 and Figure 7 one can see three preferred family types—5, 2, and 8. The previously popular type 8 is not so prevalent in Beijing urban and rural areas and Sichuan urban areas. It is apparent from the young men's column that type 2 is no longer the dominant type, type 8 having taken the lead. Had type 5 not been the most popular with type 2 second among the Zang and Han young people's column, the figures and tables would have been too confusing to be satisfactory. One cannot therefore compare the combined statistics with those of Beijing urban or rural areas or with Sichuan urban areas. One should compare only Sichuan Han rural areas statistics with other regions.

When one observes the similarities between the ideal family types of Sichuan Han regions and Beijing rural areas, one must nevertheless remember the differences. In spite of the fact that type 5 takes the lead in both regions, there is a difference in percentages. 54.59 per cent of young men and 50.57 per cent of young women in Beijing rural areas prefer this family type while 55.85 per cent of young people in Sichuan Han rural areas also chose it. As for family type 2 being the second largest in both areas, the percentages are also different: 17.87 per cent (Beijing young rural men), 16.86 per cent (Beijing young rural women), 14.63 per cent (Sichuan Han young rural people). Obviously, the latter area is not so progressive, for Sichuan Han young rural people tend to prefer having more children than

Beijing young rural people. The average number of children wanted by Sichuan Han young rural people is 1.785, and that of Beijing young rural people 1.778. This also shows that the former conclusion is correct. Since the financial and cultural levels of Sichuan Han young rural people are comparatively lower than those of Beijing young rural people, it is logical to say that the former tend to prefer having more children. Also that 1.22 per cent of Sichuan Han young rural people prefer to have type 8 (many children), and 1.83 per cent of them prefer type 9. The combined percentages of the two will be 3.05 per cent. This is not apparent in Beijing rural areas, nor in Sichuan Zang regions. Attention should also be drawn to the fact that the average number of children wanted is higher for young women than for young men—1.792:1.778. The proportion from Beijing rural areas is 1.778 for young women and 1.775 for young men, but the proportion for young people from commune- and brigade-owned enterprises is different—1.609 for young women and 1.706 for young men. It has already been noted that there is a special reason for young women's ideal number of children. The average number wanted by young women is the same or even higher than that of young men where there is a low financial and educational level. Where there is educational and financial prosperity, the average number of children wanted by young women is less than that of young men. This theory is applicable to both the educational and financial development of districts as well as to young women individually. The same attitude appears in young women of both high and low financial and educational standards. The average number of children wanted by the first group is likely to be higher or equal to that of young men. The average number of children wanted by the second group would be less than that of

young men. There is a more obvious inverse proportion between young women's ideal number of children and their educational and financial standards. Sichuan Han young rural women's ideal number of children is higher than that of young men, which shows the low levels of educational and financial standards in Sichuan Han rural areas. The analysis of the statistics helps in the formation of rules which when applied help to clarify various new situations. These are the dialectic relations between the known and the unknown. All the rules exist as facts, varying with time, place and condition with no rule applying to any one situation. What then is the limitation of this rule? According to present indications it is probable that the rule can be applied only to Han regions and not to the national minorities. It is helpful to compare the statistics from the three nationalities in Sichuan to further understand the region (Table 48).

Table 48 shows that both Yi and Zang young people want to have more children than Han young people, especially Yi young people; their average number of children wanted is nearly double that of Han young people. The average number of children wanted by both Yi young women and Zang young women is lower than that of the young men. This difference between young women and young men is even larger among the Yi young people. Why? As previously observed, when their young women change their ideas

TABLE 48. Comparison of average of ideal numbers of children wanted by young people of three nationalities in Sichuan rural areas

	Han	Zang	Yi
Son	1.778	2.000	3.826
Daughter	1.792	1.890	2.900
Average	1.785	1.930	3.395

financial or educational standards change. When their financial conditions and educational levels improve, young women will not want to have as many children as young men. This tendency is always more apparent among the women. Comparing Zang and Han nationalities, the Zang villages visited are richer than the Han villages, resulting in higher educational levels, which explains why Zang young women tend to prefer having fewer children than young men, but it cannot be the reason why Zang young people as a whole tend to prefer having more children than their Han counterparts. The average number of children wanted are 1.930 for Zang young people and 1.785 for Han young people. The average number of children wanted by Zang young women (1.890) is also higher than that of Han young women (1.792). Comparing Yi with Han nationality, it may be observed that the Yi villages visited were in more remote areas, their educational level being much lower than that of the Han with poor financial conditions prevalent, which accounts for their tendency to prefer having more children. It is however quite difficult to explain why the average number of children wanted can be as high as 3.395. It is still more difficult to explain why Yi young women want fewer children than do the young men. Therefore, one can only say that the rule or theory that was discovered about young women's ideal number of children can only be applied to Han nationality regions and not to Yi or Zang nationality regions. Neither can it be used to compare Han with Yi and Zang nationalities, for it is a distinct and confined society apart from Yi and Zang nationalities which each have their own national differences. Different nationalities have different requirements, values and styles for family life, making it necessary to study and analyse these nationalities according to their different characteristics.

The reason why Yi and Zang young women prefer to have fewer children than the young men is presumed to be that, as national minorities, they are more active, resulting in their need for more freedom; but in all nationalities, the burden of child care always falls on women's shoulders. It is only natural that women prefer to have fewer children. This tendency was oppressed in the old, traditional, male-orientated Chinese society. But once financial and cultural levels have risen, this tendency of having fewer children reappears. In national minority areas where the traditional male-centred concept does not exist, the tendency of young women to have fewer children remains the same. This is however only a comparison between ideal number of children desired by men and women. The ideal number of children preferred varies with different nationalities and their ideas about family size. For instance, the ideal number of children for Zang nationality is one son and one daughter, which is higher than that of the Han people, explaining why the ideal number of children for Zang young women is higher than that for Han young women. Those of Yi nationality prefer many children, giving the average number of children wanted by Yi young women as 2.900, higher than that of Han young women—1.792. These examples show that though young women of both Yi and Zang nationality no longer live in a male-orientated society, they fail to free themselves from the traditional ideas and values of their nationality about family size. Not to be influenced by men is one thing, but not to be influenced by one's national culture is another. It is much easier for women of national minorities to free themselves from their husbands' control, but more difficult for them to free themselves from the social concept of ideal family size.

The average number of children wanted by Yi

young women, although lower than that of Yi young men, is still high, showing they are still under the influence of having many children, a traditional concept of the whole Yi society. This is directly opposite to the situation in Han society.

The Han, Zang and Yi young people's ideal family size in Sichuan rural areas is shown in Table 49 and the relationship between financial status and the average ideal number of children is shown in Table 50.

Out of the 135 Han young people, larger pro-

TABLE 49. Ideal number of children wanted by young people of Han, Zang and Yi nationalities in Sichuan rural areas

No. of children	Financial status (Han)			Financial status (Zang)			Financial status (Yi)		
	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
1	25.00	21.74	25.86	15.38	0	7.69	7.69	0	5.26
	(2)	(15)	(15)	(2)	—	(1)	(1)	—	(1)
2	62.50	76.81	70.69	84.62	100	92.31	30.77	0	31.58
	(5)	(53)	(41)	(11)	(15)	(12)	(4)		(6)
3	12.50	1.45	3.45	0	0	0	0	0	0
	(1)	(1)	(2)	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	0	0	0	0	0	0	61.54	100	63.16
							(8)	(11)	(12)
TOTAL	(8)	(69)	(58)	(13)	(15)	(13)	(13)	(11)	(19)
(219)		(135)		(41)				(43)	
Coefficient of correlation:				(G) = −0.015		(G) = 0.350		(G) = −0.062	

TABLE 50. The average number of children wanted by Han, Zang and Yi nationalities in Sichuan rural areas and their financial status

	Financial status			
	Low	Medium	High	Total
Han	1.875	1.797	1.776	1.792
Yi	1.846	2.000	1.923	1.930
Zang	3.154	4.000	3.210	3.395

portions are in the medium and higher level financial group, with sixty-nine in the former and fifty-eight in the latter, but only eight young people are in the low level financial group. Their preferences are rather concentrated on types 5 and 2, which means most of them would like to have two children or one child, which is basically the same as that of young people in Beijing rural areas. Nevertheless, there are young people in Sichuan who want to have three children, though only a few of them, giving an unconvincing influence. It is not apparent in Beijing rural areas. The average numbers of children wanted by Sichuan rural youths decreases as their financial conditions improve. They are 1.875, 1.797 and 1.776.

Most Zang young people prefer types 5 and 2 but as there are not many of them, they are not of major importance. The average number of children wanted and their financial conditions are of direct correlation, with a rather big proportion—33 per cent. The average number of children wanted however increases with the improvement of their financial status, the proportions being 1.846 for low, 2.000 for medium and 1.923 for high financial status. In fact, most of the young people want to have two children, showing that here different financial conditions do not cause much variance in the average ideal number of children; but because of the limited number recorded, a small change could cause a considerable percentage change.

Yi young people mainly prefer type 8; that is, they would like four children. The second largest group from Zang want to have two children with little financial influence on the ideal number of children. A weak inverse correlation appears between the average ideal number of children and financial status. The coefficient is of inverse correlation (G) = −0.062, the average numbers of children wanted being 3.154 for

TABLE 51. Comparison of the percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young people of different nationalities

No. of children	Han				Zang				Yi			
	Male		Female		Male		Female		Male		Female	
	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)	No.	(%)
1	15	23.81	17	23.61	—	—	3	11.11	—	—	2	10.00
2	46	73.01	53	73.01	14	100	24	88.89	2	8.70	8	40.00
3	2	3.18	2	3.38	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	21	91.30	10	50.00
TOTAL	63	100	72	100	14	100	27	100	23	100	20	100

low, 4.000 for medium and 3.395 for high financial status.

Table 51 further illustrates these findings.

One can see from Table 51 that among the Han young people the ideal number of children wanted by young men is basically the same as that wanted by young women. But among Yi and Zang people, young women's ideal number of children is different from that of young men. All the fourteen young Zangs want to have two children, while only 88.89 per cent of the twenty-seven young women do. The other 11.11 per cent want one child. Twenty-one out of twenty-three Yi young men want to have four children, giving a proportion of 91.30, with only 8.70 per cent of them wanting two children. Among the women 40.00 per cent would like to have two children, while 10.00 per cent want only one child. There is a big gap between young men and young women of Zang and Yi nationalities as far as the ideal number of children is concerned. This is characteristic of the national minorities. There is yet another, more important factor: the similarity in their preference for having many children strongly demonstrated by young men.

Despite the fact that the fourteen Zang young men belong to three different financial categories,

TABLE 52. Average ideal number of children according to financial status of young men and women in Sichuan Han rural areas

No. of children	Financial status (men)		Financial status (women)		
	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
1	20.69	26.47	25.00	22.50	25.00
	(6)	(9)	(2)	(9)	(6)
2	79.31	67.65	62.50	75.00	75.00
	(23)	(23)	(5)	(30)	(18)
3	—	5.88	12.50	2.50	0
		(2)	(1)	(1)	
TOTAL	(29)	(34)	(8)	(40)	(24)
(135)	(63)			(72)	
Coefficient of correlation:	(G) = −0.027			(G) = −0.127	

they all want to have two children. Twenty-one out of twenty-three Yi young men from three different financial conditions all want to have four children. From these two examples we can see that financial conditions do not change young men's ideal family types in Yi and Zang nationalities. There is neither a direct correlation nor an inverse correlation with their financial conditions, furthering our supposition that research on young people's opinion on family size must be done according to different nationalities.

Accordingly, the special characteristics of Han young men cannot be applied to national minorities, and vice versa. It should be made clear that when it is said that the ideal family sizes of Yi and Zang young men do not change because of their various financial conditions, it refers to their personal financial status. As to why most Zang young men want two children and Yi young men want four, this must be influenced by their nationalities and financial conditions.

Table 52 shows separate analysis for Han young people in Sichuan rural areas, their ideal family size and its relationship to their financial conditions. The coefficient of correlation for Sichuan Han rural areas between the ideal number of children and financial status is (G) = −0.015. With separate investigations, one can see that young men's coefficient of correlation is of inverse correlation, and it is increasing slowly, their coefficient of correlation being (G) = −0.027, and that of young women −0.127. Young women's ideal number of children shows more variation with the changes in economic status.

The inverse proportion between Han young women's ideal number of children and their financial status is a little stronger than that of Han young men's. Yet the actual ideal number of children wanted by young women is similar to young men (Table 53).

The average number of children wanted by young men of medium and high financial status are nearly the same. But the average number of children wanted by young women varies with different financial status. Young women's ideal number of children is lower

TABLE 53. Average number of children wanted by young men and women in Sichuan Han rural areas according to their different financial status

	Financial status		
	Low	Medium	High
Young men	—	1.793	1.794
(63)		(29)	(34)
Young women	1.875	1.800	1.750
(72)	(8)	(40)	(24)

The average number of children wanted by young men is 1.794; by young women 1.791.

than that of young men. It proves once again that fewer young women want children than young men.

Table 54 is the comparison between the ideal number of children wanted by young married and unmarried people, and the relationship with their financial status.

The average ideal number of children for young unmarried people bears little relation to their financial status. There is, however, a rather strong inverse proportion between young married people's ideal number of children and their financial status which of course varies for couples who are less well off after having children. Those who have not yet had children do not find much change in their financial status after marriage. But those who have more children are poorer.

To make up for the inadequacy of the coefficient method, Table 55 shows the average number of ideal children. One can see clearly that the ideal number of children wanted by young married people decreases when their financial status improves, while that of young unmarried people increases when their financial

TABLE 54 Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young married and unmarried people in Sichuan Han rural areas according to their financial status

	Financial status (married)			Financial status (unmarried)		
No. of children	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)	Low (%)	Medium (%)	High (%)
1	20.00	19.05	28.57	33.33	22.92	25.00
2	60.00	80.95	71.43	66.67	75.00	70.45
3	20.00	0	0	0	2.08	4.55
TOTAL	(5)	(21)	(14)	(3)	(48)	(44)
(135)		(40)			(95)	
Coefficient of correlation:		(G) = −0.309			(G) = 0.029	

TABLE 55. Average number of children wanted by young unmarried and married people in Sichuan Han rural areas according to their financial status

	Financial status		
	Low	Medium	High
Married	2.000	1.869	1.714
(40)	(5)	(21)	(14)
Unmarried	1.667	1.792	1.795
(95)	(3)	(48)	(44)

The average number of children wanted by young married people is 1.795; by young unmarried people 1.789; and by young people 1.793

status improves. It should be noticed that the average ideal number of children of the unmarried is slightly lower than that of young married people. This may be a fault in the selection of samples. Most young people of Han nationality, especially Han young men, are to be found in the medium or high financial status group; none of them were in the low financial category. The same fault is found in the samples of both young married and unmarried people. This factor shows an abnormal average ideal number of children in relation to their financial status.

Apart from the study of the financial conditions and their effects on young people's opinion about ideal number of children, education and culture are also important. Comparisons among different nationalities are shown in Table 56.

The educational influence on Han young people's ideal number of children is of inverse correlation which would have been apparent had only the financial point of view been investigated. As has already been shown, the inverse correlation between Sichuan Han young people's ideal number of children and their financial

TABLE 56. Ideal number of children wanted by young people of Han, Yi and Zang nationalities in Sichuan rural areas according to their cultural levels

	Educational levels								
	Han				Yi		Zang		
No. of children	Illiterate (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)
1	16.67	15.73	29.51	0	4.76	0	14.28	4.54	20.00
2	75.00	79.78	68.85	66.67	16.67	50.00	85.71	95.45	80.00
3	8.33	4.49	1.64	33.33	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	78.57	50.00	0	0	0
TOTAL	(12)	(89)	(61)	(3)	(42)	(2)	(14)	(22)	(5)
(250)		(165)				(44)		(41)	
Coefficient of correlation: (G) = −0.250					(G) = 0.50		(G) = 0.090		

conditions is −0.086, as opposed to −0.250. It has also been mentioned that measuring Yi and Zang young people's ideal number of children according to their financial status is inefficient. It has also been found that measuring their ideal number of children by their educational levels is not applicable either. For despite the fact that a clear inverse correlation has been drawn, the result is confusing and misleading. Because 42 out of 44 Yi young people are illiterate, only two were left in the category of primary school level group. How then can one measure their desire for children according to their educational levels? Zang young people can be divided into primary school, junior high school and senior high school levels, but their desire for children does not change according to their educational standards. It might, therefore, be wiser to eliminate the studies on Yi and Zang nationalities, and to concentrate solely on Han young people (Table 57).

Both young men's and women's ideal number of children have inverse coefficients of correlation with

TABLE 57. Ideal number of children wanted by Han young men and women in Sichuan rural areas according to their cultural levels

	Educational level (male)				Educational level (female)		
No. of children	Illiterate (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)	Illiterate (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)
1	0	11.76	26.47	0	22.22	21.05	33.33
2	100	82.35	73.53	66.67	66.67	76.32	62.96
3	0	5.88	0	33.33	11.11	2.63	3.70
TOTAL (165)	(3)	(51)	(34) (91)	(3)	(9)	(38) (74)	(27)
Coefficient of correlation:			(G) = −0.244				(G) = −0.233

their educational levels approximately the same and from similar figures. Compared to the effects of financial conditions on their desire for children, the coefficient of inverse correlations is −0.042 for young men and −0.127 for young women. There is only a very weak inverse correlation for young men, far behind that of women. But from the educational point of view, the inverse correlation is −0.244, much higher than −0.042, nearly equal that of young women. As for young women themselves, their ideal number of children and its relation with their financial conditions is 0.127. Compared to the inverse correlation with their educational levels (−0.233) there is little difference. It is therefore more effective to measure young people's desire for children from their educational levels than from their financial status.

Do education and culture have the same effects on young married and unmarried people? Table 58 illustrates the situation.

The coefficients of correlation from Table 58 are −0.769 for young married people and −0.181 for young unmarried people. According to their financial status, both young married people in Beijing urban

TABLE 58. Educational and cultural levels and percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young unmarried and married people in Sichuan Han rural areas

	Educational level						
	Unmarried				Married		
No. of children	Illiterate (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)	Senior high (%)
1	0	18.52 (5)	25.00 (8)	0	4.17 (1)	50.00 (1)	0
2	100 (3)	70.37 (19)	75.00 (24)	50.00 (1)	95.83 (23)	50.00 (1)	100 (1)
3	0	11.11 (3)	0	50.00 (1)	0	0	0
TOTAL (91)	(3)	(27)	(32)	(2)	(24)	(2) (27)	(1)
Coefficient of correlation:			(G) = −0.181			(G) = −0.769	

areas and Sichuan Han rural areas have rather stronger correlations than that of young unmarried people. The same result has been found when investigations are made according to their educational levels. However, twenty-four out of the twenty-seven young married people are of primary school level, with two of junior high school level; only one is of senior high school level. Therefore, the coefficients of correlation are, scientifically speaking, of little value. As for the young unmarried people, their educational distribution is more balanced, giving a more reliable coefficient of correlation, (G) = −0.181.

Comparison has also been made according to young unmarried women's educational levels, and this is shown in Table 59.

Table 58 shows that the educational level of young married people is lower than that of the young unmarried. Table 59 shows that educational levels of

TABLE 59. Percentages of ideal number of children wanted by young unmarried women in Sichuan Han rural areas, according to their education levels

	Educational level					
	Unmarried			Married		
No. of children	Illiterate (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)	Illiterate (%)	Primary (%)	Junior high (%)
1	0	23.81 (5)	40.14 (6)	50.00 (2)	17.65 (3)	25.00 (3)
2	80.00 (4)	71.43 (15)	53.33 (8)	30.00 (2)	82.35 (14)	75.00 (9)
3	20.00 (1)	4.76 (1)	6.67 (1)	0	0	0
TOTAL	(5)	(21)	(15)	(4)	(17)	(12)
Coefficient of correlation: (G) = −0.456				(G) = 0.150		

young unmarried and married women are nearly the same. The distribution of young women's educational levels is not as high as that of young unmarried men, although higher than that of young married men. Why is the educational level of young married men so low?

When young married and unmarried women are combined, the coefficient of correlation of their ideal number of children and their educational levels is (G) = −0.233. An inverse correlation of −0.456 is found for young unmarried women, and a coefficient of direct correlation (G) = 0.15 is found for young married women. The correlation is lower than that of young unmarried women, which is at the same time both unique, incomprehensible and best left to one side.

Studies were made in Table 60 on the average number of children desired by young unmarried and married people in Sichuan Han rural areas according to their educational levels. Had they not been divided into married and unmarried groups, the average ideal number of children wanted by young men would be

TABLE 60. Average ideal number of children wanted by young married and unmarried people in Sichuan Han rural areas according to their educational levels

	Average number of children wanted				
	Illiterate	Primary	Junior high	Senior high	Total
Male:					
Unmarried	2.000	1.930	1.438	2.500	1.859
(64)	(3)	(27)	(32)	(2)	—
Married	—	1.958	1.500	2.000	1.926
(27)	—	(24)	(2)	(1)	—
Female:					
Unmarried	2.200	1.810	1.667	—	1.805
(40)		(5)	(15)	—	—
Married	1.500	1.824	1.750	—	1.758
(33)	(4)	(12)	(12)	—	—

1.879 and that of young women 1.784. Understandably, young women in Sichuan want to have fewer children than do young men, just like young women in other areas.

Young married men, also like young men of other areas, tend to be willing to have more children than unmarried ones. The average number of children wanted by young married men is 1.926, and that of young unmarried men 1.859. Studies of educational levels are concentrated on primary and junior high school levels, because most of the young people are to be found in these two groups. Whether married or not, the desire to have children decreases with progress from primary to junior high school; it is of inverse correlation. With the married men, as most of them are in the primary school group, the average number of children they want is 1.958, compared with the total average number of young married men, which is 1.926. This gives an inverse proportion, though not so obvious as was shown by the coefficient method.

Observations were made on young women by dividing them into married and unmarried groups. The average ideal number of children of the two largest groups—primary and junior high school—are of inverse proportion with their educational levels. How then can one explain the −0.456 coefficient of correlation for young unmarried women and the positive 0.150 correlation for married women? This is due to the illiterate group, for five of the young married women are illiterate, and four of them want to have two children, with one wanting three. But all these five young women have a strong desire for children. As the illiterate column is placed in front of the primary school column, it brings about the high inverse proportion rate as opposed to the illiterate section of the married group which reverses the inverse tendency, having only four in the illiterate group, with two wanting only one child and two wanting two children. The married group prefer fewer children as a whole. The illiterate group placed before the primary school column has changed the direction of the coefficient of correlation into a weak coefficient of direct correlation. The five illiterates among the young unmarried women and the four among the married group are small in number and cannot represent young women in general; the averages drawn from their columns may therefore cause confusion and are best ignored, for as the inverse correlation between young unmarried women's ideal number of children and their educational levels is weak this weak coefficient of previous direct correlation could basically change, overriding any inconsistencies and making what was hitherto incomprehensible easier to understand.

The samples chosen from Sichuan rural areas were not large—only 250 people. Excluding Yi and Zang nationalities, there were only 165 young people of Han

nationality remaining. These were divided into ninety-one young men and seventy-four young women. Among the ninety-one young men, sixty-four were unmarried and twenty-seven married. There were forty unmarried and thirty-three young married women. Having been divided into the four groups of young married men, young unmarried men, young married women and young unmarried women, the number in each group decreases further as each group was again divided into illiterate, primary school, junior high school and senior high school levels. Thus numbers in each group studied were finally very small. Sometimes there was one person left in a group and very few in another. This method of division and subdivision helped when further observations were made, yet because of diminishing numbers in the groups, unforeseen contradictions became apparent and confusion ensued from lack of sufficient samples.

Chapter 5

Traditional ideas

When the study was designed, it was intended to observe young people's opinions about the number of children desired according to their financial status, educational levels and the influence of traditional ideas. Throughout the whole process, it was found that traditional ideas have little effect on young people's opinions regarding the number of children desired. Many young people have already turned away from traditional ideas on this subject, although it did not mean that they have totally dismissed them. But nowadays traditional ideas have little bearing on the present which became more and more apparent in this study, and it was already most helpful to have ascertained young people's opinions on this matter.

According to young people, as traditional values were no longer of importance, studies were first made on the influence of financial status and educational levels in Beijing and Sichuan urban and rural areas. A study of the influence of traditional ideas now follows.

To observe the influence of traditional ideas about children on young people's ideal number of children, they were classified into three categories: the fulfilment of having children; the pleasure they bring; large families mean prosperity and power.

Young people were divided into Group 0, Group 1, Group 2 and Group 3, according to these values

TABLE 61. Percentages of young people's ideas on traditional large families in Beijing and Sichuan urban and rural areas

	Beijing (%)		Sichuan (%)	
Scores	City	Countryside	City	Countryside
0	98.23	94.04	99.18	62.40
1	1.77	5.96	0.82	29.60
2	0	0	0	2.40
3	0	0	0	5.60
TOTAL	(1071)	(319)	(122)	(250)
(1762)		(1390)		(372)

TABLE 62. Percentages of young people of different nationalities in Sichuan rural areas holding traditional ideas

Scores	Han	Zang	Yi	Average	Total
0	75.76	92.68	40.91	72.40	
	(125)	(38)	(18)		(181)
1	24.24	7.32	36.36	23.60	
	(40)	(3)	(16)		(59)
2	0	0	6.82	1.20	
			(3)		(3)
3	0	0	15.91	2.86	
			(7)		(7)
TOTAL	100	100	100	100	
	(165)	(41)	(44)		(250)

and answers. Those who gave negative answers were in Group 0; those who agreed with one category were in Group 1; two categories for Group 2; and three categories for Group 3. Table 61 was designed on this basis.

From Table 61, it will be observed that young people in Beijing urban and rural areas and those in Sichuan urban areas do not believe in the three traditional values about family size. Only very few of them agree with even one point, which proves most of the young people in these three areas do not accept the traditional values. But what of young people in Sichuan

rural areas? Of them, 29.60 per cent agree with one of the points, and 5.60 per cent welcome the idea of all the three points! Further studies were made and the results of these are shown in Table 62. This shows that the Yi nationality follows more closely the traditional values of having many children. When Yi were combined with Han and Zang the percentage was high, which shows a strong trend towards many children in Sichuan rural areas. Table 62 also shows that young people in Sichuan rural areas have more traditional concepts about the number of children in a family than young people in Beijing urban and rural areas and Sichuan urban areas.

The coefficient of correlation between traditional values and young people's ideal number of children is of direct correlation. That is to say, the stronger the traditional values the more children they would like to have, giving an entirely different direction from that of financial or cultural influences. The conclusions that can be drawn from this research are that financial and educational factors generally have inverse co-

TABLE 63. Ideal numbers of children of young people of different nationalities in Sichuan rural areas according to their traditional values

	Traditional values							
	Han		Zang		Yi			
No. of children	0 (%)	1 (%)	0 (%)	1 (%)	0 (%)	1 (%)	2 (%)	3 (%)
1	24.00	10.00	10.53	0	11.11	0	0	0
2	72.80	82.50	89.47	100	44.44	0	0	0
3	3.20	7.50	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	0	0	0	0	44.44	100	100	100
TOTAL	(125)	(40)	(38)	(3)	(18)	(16)	(3)	(7)
(250)		(165)		(41)			(44)	
Coefficient of correlation:		(G) = 0.451		(G) = 1			(G) = 1	

efficients of correlation with the ideal number of children (Table 63).

According to the study there is a large difference between Yi and Zang nationalities as far as traditional values of many children are concerned. The two national minority areas, Benzhen People's Commune in Ma-er-kang County of Zang nationality and Zhu He People's Commune in Zhao Jue County of Yi nationality, are in different geographical situations. The former lies on western Sichuan prairie, with Tibet and Qinghai highland to the west, linking it with Sichuan's most prosperous Wen River areas and is very near the capital of Sichuan, Chengdu, while Zhao Jue County is situated in the remote Daliang mountainous area. They also have different economies. For instance, commune members of A-Di Brigade from the Ben Zhen People's Commune have an annual income of 192 yuan with 664 jins of grain per capita; while Yi commune members of the Big Hot Spring Brigade of Zhu He People's Commune have 953 jins of grain but have an annual income of 38 yuan. They have plenty of grain, but very little money. It follows that young people in these two districts cannot have the same level of education. 12.2 per cent of Zang nationality A-Di Brigade students are of senior high school level, 53.66 per cent of them are of junior high school level and 34.15 per cent are of primary school level; while in Big Hot Spring Brigade, of Yi nationality only 4.55 per cent of its youths are of primary school level, with 95.45 per cent of them illiterate. They therefore also have different traditional values. Many Zang young people wrote on the questionnaire: 'According to Zang traditions, we want a son and a daughter'; and more young people of Yi nationality wrote: 'According to our traditional values, the more brothers and sisters the better'; and: 'It is glorious to have many children.'

Young Han people are less influenced by traditional values than people of Zang or Yi nationalities. They are more like young people in Beijing urban or rural areas, or the young people in Sichuan urban areas, who are much influenced by traditional values on family size.

Young people of Han nationality in Sichuan rural areas more or less believe and follow in the traditional norm of the big family. This was also noticed in Shi Fang County and Bei Chuan County as well as in Han villages in Jiang Jing County in Sichuan.

The questionnaire asked, among other things, 'Why do you want to have many children?' Five answers were available, giving a wide variety of choice: for support in old age; to carry on the family line; to maintain love and affection between husband and wife; to harmonize the family atmosphere; to fulfil social obligations as parents. Altogether 188 young men and 110 young women from Lang Shan People's Commune and Cai Jia People's Commune in Jiang Jing County, Sichuan were asked this question. They were compared to the 29 young men and 132 young women at No. 2 Cotton Mill in Beijing, who were asked their opinions on traditional values. They were also required to choose their answers from the wide variety of choice, giving marks for each: 5 marks to the first, then 4, 3, 2, 1 accordingly. The result of the test is given in Table 64.

Table 64 shows that young people from different areas have various reasons for having children, but that young men and young women among Sichuan Han people have nearly the same ideas on the five reasons for having children. Beijing young people put more emphasis on harmonizing family atmosphere and maintaining love and affection, and rank old age support and carrying on the family line last. Again, Beijing

TABLE 64. Order of the five reasons for having children among Sichuan Han young rural people and Beijing urban young people

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Sichuan:					
Young men	Old age support	Carry on family line	Maintain love	Harmonize family atmosphere	Social obligation
Young women	Social obligation	Old age support	Carry on family line	Harmonize family atmosphere	Maintain love
Beijing:					
Young men	Social obligation	Harmonize family atmosphere	Maintain love	Old age support	Carry on family line
Young women	Social obligation	Harmonize family atmosphere	Maintain love	Old age support	Carry on family line

young people are very little influenced by traditional values as opposed to young people in Sichuan rural areas who rank old age support and carrying on the family line as most important, showing they still have strong traditions. Data for both their tendency to have many children together with their reasons prove that young people in Sichuan Han rural areas are still influenced by traditional values. This is a reminder to the effect that it is still very necessary to promote family planning in these remote areas.

Finally, one question remains: Why do young people in the Beijing urban area give completely different reasons for having children, while still wishing to have support in their old age and someone to carry on the family line? Could it be the conflicting data available? It seems not, for the table about the number of children wanted has clear demarcation lines and reveals attitudes to family size quite distinctly. As for the table which lists reasons for having children, not only were those who would like to have many children asked to give their reasons, but so were the people

who wanted only one child. As far as support in old age is concerned, many listed that as a reason, yet they themselves would not like to support their aged parents. The previous tables showed that many young people prefer not to stay with their parents after marriage, demonstrating that they do not wish to look after their parents in their everyday life. According to Chinese traditions, the primary purpose of marriage was to take care of aged parents, the second being the happiness of the married couple. The principal idea was to gain a daughter-in-law for the parents, not a wife for the groom. Should the young couple fail to produce a son they would certainly have been accused of being unnatural and unfilial. So to give birth to a son was also doing one's duty to one's parents, in order to carry on the family line. There is an old Chinese saying: 'There are many ways of not doing one's duty to one's parents; the worst being unable to produce a descendant.' This clearly shows how important it was to carry on the family line and that support in old age was of secondary importance. But what one notices from the tables is just the contrary; support in old age comes first. In the New Marriage Law it is stipulated that young people are encouraged to marry later and have fewer children; they are also supposed to have a duty to support their aged parents. There is no special emphasis on the latter. Young people were asked to answer in order of importance, unlike the question on many or few children where they had only to choose one type. Thus all the young people of a certain area were classified into 'o' group. All in all, correct conclusions can only be derived from several studies. To understand the meaning of one table, it must be studied together with other data. Any statistical figure will become misleading if viewed in isolation, for no matter

how careful the design of the questionnaires, mistakes are still inevitable. It is evident from these tables that young people in Sichuan Han rural areas have been more deeply influenced by traditional values than young people in Beijing urban area.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

Despite some faults and oversights in the survey, the statistics nevertheless show considerable regularity. First of all, it has been found that urban areas are basically different from rural areas. Taking 1.5 children as a midpoint between one child and two children, the ideal number of children is around 1 and 1.5 in urban areas, while 1.5 and 2 children are found in rural areas. The average ideal number of children for young urban people in Beijing is 1.309, and that for young people in Sichuan urban areas is 1.381, both lower than 1.5. The average ideal number of children for young people in Beijing rural areas is 1.732, and that for young people in Sichuan rural areas is 1.785; both are higher than 1.5, though less than 2. It can thus be said that there is only a slight difference between Beijing urban areas and Sichuan urban areas; nor is there any great difference between Beijing rural areas and Sichuan rural areas. In short, there is not much difference between Beijing and Sichuan.

Nevertheless, there is still a large difference between the combined Beijing urban and rural areas and Sichuan urban and rural areas. The difference between urban and rural areas is therefore the major, basic difference, while that between Beijing and Sichuan is of lesser importance. This is because of the difference in economies between the urban and rural

areas. The difference between Beijing urban areas and Sichuan urban areas is only regional as is the difference between Beijing rural areas and Sichuan rural areas.

Table 65 proves that the above mentioned theory is correct by showing the approximation of percentages of ideal numbers of children wanted by young people in Beijing and Sichuan urban areas, and young people in Beijing and Sichuan rural areas. The differences are large, whether they are between young people in Beijing urban and rural areas or young people in Sichuan urban and rural areas. It shows clearly that the difference between cities and rural areas is large, but that between Beijing itself and Sichuan is small.

Whether it is a difference between cities and rural areas or between Beijing and Sichuan, the reasons are similar. The ideal number of children wanted by young people increases from cities to rural areas, from Beijing to Sichuan.

As far as educational development is concerned, it is more apparent in the cities than in the rural areas and even more so in Beijing than in Sichuan. Where there is economic and educational development, young people tend to want fewer children. In other words, young people's ideal number of children forms an

TABLE 65. Ideal numbers of children wanted by young people in Beijing and Sichuan urban and rural areas

No. of children	Allocation of children in Beijing and Sichuan (per cent)			
	Beijing urban	Beijing rural	Sichuan (Dayi) urban	Sichuan (Han) rural
0	5.79	1.88	0	0.75
1	57.70	23.51	61.94	22.96
2	35.76	72.73	38.06	73.33
3	0.75	1.88	0	2.96
TOTAL				
(1762)	(1071)	(319)	(63)	(135)

TABLE 66. Correlation between financial conditions, cultural levels and the ideal number of children of young people in Beijing and Sichuan urban and rural areas

Youths in:	Financial condition and ideal number of children		Educational levels and ideal number of children	
	Coefficient of correlation	Samples	Coefficient of correlation	Samples
Beijing urban areas	−0.099	1071	−0.108	1071
Beijing rural areas[1]	−0.132	206	—	—
Beijing rural areas (all)	—	—	−0.220	319
Sichuan rural areas	0.577	122	0.059	122
Sichuan rural areas (Han)	−0.086	135	−0.250	165

1. Excluding those working in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises

inverse coefficient of correlation with the degree of prosperity of the place in which they live. This theory can also be applied both to Beijing remote areas and Beijing suburbs.

Table 66 shows the coefficient of correlation. The coefficient of correlation between young people's ideal number of children and their financial conditions and educational levels are inverse ones, except for the one from Sichuan urban areas, where the coefficient of correlation turned out to be a direct one. This is because of misleading samples. We will have to exclude it.

Generally speaking, the coefficient of correlation between educational levels and the ideal number of children is more obvious than that between financial conditions and the ideal number of children. Whether the coefficient is large or small the coefficient of correlation is inverse. Be they young people from Beijing or Sichuan urban areas, in cities or in rural areas, the coefficients of correlation between their educational levels and their ideal number of children are inverse, as are the coefficients of correlation between their financial conditions and their ideal number of children.

There are differences within the cities. Young people of different professions have various ideas about the ideal number of children. Those in the public services would like to have more children, whilst young people in industry slightly less, and those wanting the least number of children working in education and public health departments. However, most of the young people in these different professions would like one child, regardless of sex, while young people working in education and public health departments are the more noticeable for the tendency of having fewer children. Young people in industry prefer to have a family with a son and a daughter. The total average ideal number of children, therefore, is not more than 1.5, well under the index from rural areas.

There are also differences within the range of rural areas, the average ideal number of children in Beijing suburbs being 1.653 and that of remote areas 1.815. This is because remote areas are financially and educationally less advanced than the suburbs. Yet the differences do not exceed the index of between 1.5 and 2, the limit set on rural areas. The average ideal number of children of young people working in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises is not the same as that of young commune members, the former's being 1.641 and the latter's 1.777. This is because the financial and educational levels of commune members are lower than those of young workers in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises. Even so, the average ideal number of children of commune- and brigade-owned enterprise workers is still within the range of that of rural areas and still lower than that of the city.

Special attention should be paid to the differences between the average ideal number of children of young men and young women. The causes of the difference are complicated, and the variations are significant. The

average ideal number of children of the 528 young men in Beijing urban areas is 1.342, and that of the 543 young women is 1.274. Young women show a tendency to prefer fewer children. The average ideal number of children of the eighty young farmers is 1.775 and that of the 126 young women farmers is 1.778. Here, young women would like more children. Though the difference is but small, this change of direction should not be overlooked. It is also apparent in Sichuan Han rural areas where the average ideal number of children of the sixty-three young men is 1.778, while that of the seventy-two young women is 1.791. Again, young women show a preference for more children. Here there is a similarity between the areas. As there are mistakes in the samples in Sichuan urban areas, the statistics about Sichuan are not very reliable because the average ideal number of children of Leshan young people is too low. The average ideal number of children of young people in Dayi County is more reliable, since it is the combined figure for young men and young women. As for those young people working in the Beijing countryside in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises, the average ideal number of children of the thirty-four young men workers is 1.706, and that of the sixty-nine young women workers is 1.609, young women tending to want fewer children, again showing that they are similar to those working in urban areas. For as has been demonstrated the tendency to want fewer children increases when the districts become more financially and educationally viable as opposed to depressed areas where they tend to want more. Several districts of varying economic conditions in Beijing show different averages of ideal numbers of children for young people (Table 67).

Statistics from the Beijing urban area are valuable, for they contain samples already investigated and

TABLE 67. Average number of children wanted by young men and young women of varying economic conditions in Beijing urban area. (Numbers in parentheses are numbers of young people)

	Economic status		
	Low	Medium	High
Male	1.333	1.374	1.310
(528)	(93)	(305)	(130)
Female	1.392	1.276	1.154
(543)	(102)	(337)	(140)

the numbers of young men and young women are approximately the same. Their financial conditions are fairly proportional divided into low, medium and high positions, although the young men do express a wish for a higher ideal number of children than young women. A much lower rate is shown for young women when their financial conditions improve as opposed to young men's ideal number of children which does not change much according to their financial status. Sometimes, they are even rather conservative. For instance, young men of medium financial status would like a higher number of children than young men of low financial status because when their financial positions improve, they know that they can afford to have more children, showing young men are conservative about numbers of children. However, unlike young men, those young women who are not financially well-off are usually still under the influence of their parents' or husbands' ideas. If the young women are financially self-sufficient they are less influenced and can afford to be independent in their choice of children. Therefore, the average of their ideal number of children is obviously low. We can assume from this theory that the ideal number of children for women in financially prosperous areas will be low. Since rural areas are financially less advanced, women will tend to prefer

to have more children, whereas in cities which are financially more prosperous, women tend to prefer fewer children, but this may not be applied to men and women over 30. However, that is why young women in rural areas give an ideal number of children the same as or higher than that of young men, and young women in the city have a lower ideal number of children than young men.

The average ideal number of children of young people of different financial status in Beijing commune- and brigade-owned enterprises in the countryside is basically the same as that of young people in Beijing city. This provides further proof of the validity of the above theory.

But the ideal number of children of young people of three different economic positions in Beijing rural areas does not agree with this theory. But as there are insufficient samples, we can ignore them. If young people are not divided into financial groups, then young women in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises have a lower ideal number of children than

TABLE 68. Financial and educational influence on ideal numbers of children of young people from different areas in Beijing

	Coefficient of correlation between financial conditions and ideal number of children		Coefficient of correlation between educational levels and ideal number of children	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Beijing urban area	0.320	−0.217	−0.122	−0.487
Beijing rural area	—	—	−0.037	−0.279
Beijing rural area[1]	−0.233	−0.064	—	—
Beijing rural commune- and brigade-owned enterprises	0.538	0.199	—	—

1. Excluding young people in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises

young men workers, while young women farm workers have a higher one than young men farmers. This result also supports the theory.

According to coefficients of correlation, the differences between young men and young women can also support this theory (Table 68).

Whether the influences are financial or educational, the coefficient for young women is of inverse correlation. Even though young women in the Beijing rural areas have a higher ideal number of children than young men, their coefficients of correlation are still of inverse proportions. With the improvement of financial and educational standards, young women's tendency to have fewer children becomes stronger. But young men working in Beijing commune- and brigade-owned enterprises still have a higher ideal number of children when they are financially better-off. Thus, a coefficient of direct correlation is formed.

As far as educational influence is concerned, though the coefficients of correlation are inverse, for young men as well as for young women, be they young men in Beijing urban areas, or working in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises, they have a much smaller coefficient than young women. Only young men in Beijing rural areas (not including those who work in commune- and brigade-owned enterprises) have a much higher coefficient of inverse correlation between their financial conditions and their ideal number of children than young women. Generally speaking, young men are less progressive regarding the number of children they would like to have. But there exist many differences and in particular those between urban and rural areas. In cities, young women's ideal number of children is lower than that of young men, whilst young women in the rural areas have a higher ideal number of children than young

men. This complex finding leads us to realize that to implement the population policy, it is very important to promote young women's financial positions and to improve their educational levels. It is especially necessary in the rural areas to make them both economically and educationally viable.

It is also necessary to discuss young people's increasing desire to have small families, with either two or fewer than two children, and their wish to live separately from their parents. This is a new type of family. There are very few young people who prefer to have the traditional large families, for the present generation of young people are no longer interested in the idea. They would like a small family. This is a transformation in the Chinese concept of family traditions.

Throughout this study it has been found that with the improvement of any personal finances the ideal number of children decreases; also, the higher the educational standard, the fewer children wanted. The tendency for social development is similar: the higher the economic and educational standard, the lower the ideal number of children. The higher the economic development of an area the sooner the educational standards will be improved. Therefore, this new type of family will spread and fewer children will result. The small family type and the tendency to have fewer children will develop accordingly and family structures will be seen in more qualitative terms.

A study was made of young people's reasons for having children which included support in old age, carrying on the family line, maintaining love and affection between the couple, harmonizing the family atmosphere and social obligation. According to the traditional social code, the first and foremost reason for having children was to carry on the family line

and then for support in one's old age. As for maintaining love and affection between the young couple and harmonizing the family atmosphere, these were found more applicable for young people having small families, and especially for those amongst young people, in the Beijing Cotton Textile Mill. Their new concepts differ from the traditional ideas. However, this is not the case with the young people of three people's communes in Jiang Jing County, Sichuan Province. They place support for old age and carrying on the family line before the other two reasons. Traditional values may therefore have been maintained in remote and backward districts. This comparison proves that there still remains a certain difference between urban and rural areas. Nevertheless, too much stress should not be put on the influence of traditional ideas.

The main difference between young people's ideas about family size in this new type of small family is the decision to have one child or two children. This is not connected with the previous traditional values of having many children which no longer interests our young people.

The disappearance of traditional values is shown in many ways; not only in the decrease in the number of children wanted, but also in the choice of a son or a daughter, the first choice of family type in urban areas being type 2 with only one child which most young people select. Type 2 is only second choice in rural areas. This is exceptional, since it is unusual for country folk not to want many children, especially a son. The third aspect is that most of the young people would like to live separately from their parents. However, they should still be persuaded to support old parents for it is still a tradition of great value and should not be discarded. Young people have moved faster than expected in forsaking traditional values.

It is not surprising that young people between the ages of 15 and 25 or 30 should have given up traditional values. All of them were born after Liberation, the oldest ones in the early 1950s, and the youngest on the eve of the Cultural Revolution. They were therefore little influenced by old traditions and certainly not so during the Cultural Revolution, when old traditions were put aside. The second, yet important, reason is the basic changes which have taken place in economic fields. Private ownership has been replaced by state and collective ownership. Families are no longer productive units. The foundation for a patriarchal system no longer exists, resulting in the disappearance of the old-fashioned type of family with fathers at the centre. Gradually, new types of families are being established and a new generation is emerging with new concepts. The replacement of the old by the new reflects the movement from one generation to another. The young people studied are mature. Their new concept of family and family size is helpful in carrying out the policy of family planning.

Table 69 shows young people's attitude towards birth-control. It is quite encouraging to know that over 80 per cent or even 90 per cent of young people are pro-birth-control policy. This also seems reliable because, according to the family types they have selected they are prepared for the policy of family planning. Since 1973 a lot of information about the benefits and the urgency of family planning has been

TABLE 69. Percentages of young people's attitude to family planning in Beijing and Sichuan urban and rural areas

Attitude	Beijing urban	Sichuan urban	Beijing rural	Sichuan rural
Absolutely necessary	92.26	84.88	94.16	81.74
Beneficial to state and oneself	89.27	84.85	87.11	83.82

distributed and a series of steps taken to carry out the policy and promote young people's understanding of it. Young people's ideal number of children is very near to that advocated by the family-planning policy which is proving beneficial for the country as a whole. The policy carried out since 1973 has shown good results. It is useful to recall here that young people included in this study were under the age of 30, but a special study will also be made of young people over 30.

It should be noted however that there is still some way to go between young people's ideal number of children and what is expected of them. Most young people would like to have two children, while the policy advocates only one. This difference of one child is not an easy problem to solve, especially when those who like to have two children are rural young people. This is a fact that must not be overlooked.

Family planning is a continuing strategy in China. It implies not only a control over the growth of population, but most important, an improvement in the quality of the population. To establish this improvement all the following points should be considered: the age of marriage needs to be raised; sex education should be given to young people; pre-marriage physical examinations enforced; and proper care and prevention ensured to those who suffer from inherited diseases. Young women need to be encouraged to have physical checks before their time of confinement, so as to establish ease of birth and to check for any inherited diseases. Improved preventive services and better care of pregnant women are being put into operation so as to lower the maternal and infant mortality rates. To guarantee the safety of mother and infant, and to ensure that babies are born healthy, it is obviously very important to have an effective programme of health care for mothers and children.

Much is involved in the question of improving the quality of the population and to help young married people towards having fewer children. This is work to be done in the future.

The problem of population is a very complicated question in China. It has been made apparent from the very beginning that the vast population of the country has already affected the speed of development, both economically and educationally, thus hindering the improvement of the people's standard of living. The study of population is a complex one; childbirth and child care are both biological and social matters. It is necessary therefore to apply both physical and social scientific principles to study the problems. From the statistics revealed in this study, we can see that young people's ideas are influenced by their social and financial conditions and educational levels. Differences exist between cities and countryside; between young men and young women; between young people of different professions; between various cities, remote areas and near suburbs; between Beijing rural areas and urban areas; between different nationalities, etc. The situation is very complicated yet a certain pattern is emerging. The complexity of the population problem calls for further scientific study on this matter. This report is but a first study from a social point of view; much will have to be improved as far as the methods used are concerned. The results and conclusions drawn are only the first step and further studies should follow. China is a large, complicated country with a vast population. Many large-scale studies from every point of view should be made, so as to obtain reliable material to promote the country's population policy.